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THE IRISH PARLIAMENT '



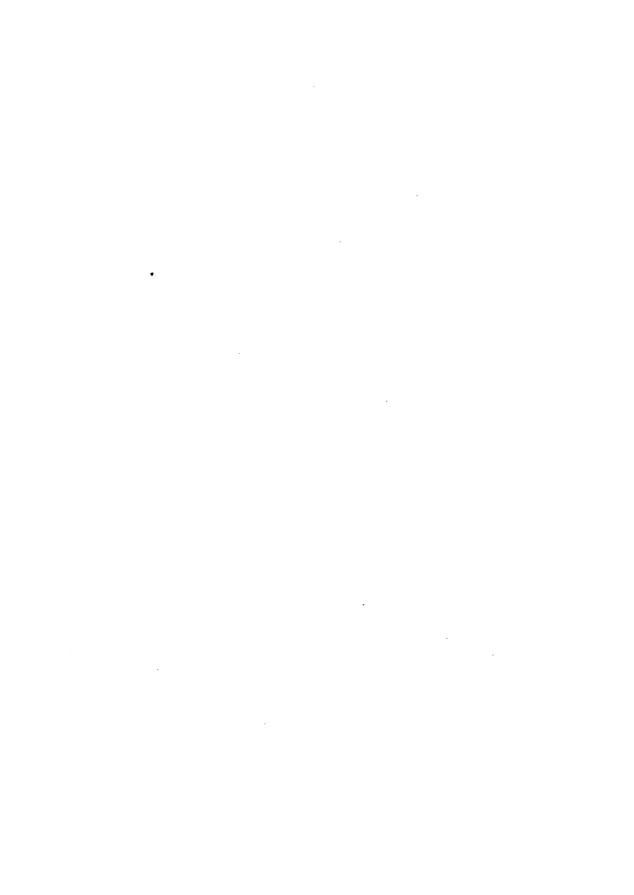
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THE IRISH PARLIAMENT 1775



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INTRODUCTION

THIS introduction will set forth only so much of the history of the Irish Parliament as may enable readers without special knowledge of it to understand the significance of the document printed in the text. No attempt will be

Errata

Page xxxiv, 7 lines from bottom, dele "lately member for Co. Tipperary." Mr. Vincent Scully has never sat in Parliament.

" 92, 10 lines from bottom, for Perry (F.) read Perry (G. G.)

was conforming the English PARLIAMENT.
Catholics fre

six years Catholics were able to exercise the franchise; but in 1727, when the party which directed the policy of the Castle, as the Irish Government was called, feared that the Catholics would join their opponents, the Government

Grateful acknowledgment should be made of my indebtedness to Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century (vol. iv.), of which chap. xvi. is devoted to the history of Ireland from 1760-1778. I have, however, myself consulted all the principal printed authorities on the subject in hand, and have worked at the two volumes of Lord Harcourt's official correspondence while Lord Lieutenant, transcribed for his chief secretary, Sir John Blaquiere, afterwards Baron de Blaquiere, and now preserved in the Public Record Office as S.P. Ireland, 1772-1776, vols. 443, 444.

procured the assent of the Irish Parliament to a Bill enacting that no 'Papist' should be admitted to vote at the election of a member to serve in Parliament. By this Act four-fifths of the people were deprived of any representation.¹

Nor was the House of Commons really representative even of the Protestant minority. Of its 300 members only sixtysix sat for counties, and 200 were returned for 100 small boroughs, some with a mere handful of inhabitants, such as the borough of Tulsk, co. Roscommon, then 'a miserable hamlet consisting of a few mud cabins.' In 1783 it is said that of the whole House only seventy-two members were returned by free election of the people, that fifty-three peers nominated 124 members and influenced the election of ten others, and that fifty-two commoners nominated ninety-one.2 report drawn up in 1784 states that 116 seats were at the disposal of twenty-five proprietors, that Lord Shannon sent sixteen members to Parliament, the Ponsonby family fourteen, Lord Hillsborough nine, and the Duke of Leinster seven, while the Castle itself held twelve seats.3 provided with a seat voted on all important questions in accordance with his patron's wishes; he formed one of the great man's followers, and the influence of the borough owners was increased by relationship among themselves, and by their power of extorting from the Government places and other favours for those who did them good service. Our document gives a list of twenty-four borough owners with the followers of each of them, 110 in all,4 in the House of Commons in 1775, and to these must be added the members sitting for the boroughs held by the Castle.

The House of Lords consisted of twenty-two spiritual peers, four archbishops and eighteen bishops, and, in 1775, of 142 temporal peers.⁵ The prelates were for the most part chosen for the support which they had given, or were prepared to give, to Government, or to satisfy the demands of great borough owners on behalf of some clerical relative or

¹ Geo. II. c. 9, Irish; Plowden, History of Ireland, ii. 91-92.

² Gordon, History of Ireland, ii. 288.

³ Massey, History of England, iii. 264-265.

⁴ Pages 54-55. Soyal Kalendar, 1775.

follower. Many of them were to be found more often in London or Bath than in their own dioceses. More than half of them were Englishmen: during the eighteenth century all the primates, the archbishops of Armagh, and ten of the eighteen archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, were English.1 The number of temporal peers had been increased since the middle of the century by creations conferred on the chief supporters of the Government, who pressed their claims for peerages and, when these were obtained, for promotion in the peerage, with untiring assiduity. As borough owners or otherwise individually influential the peers had enormous political importance; as members of a legislative assembly they were comparatively unimportant.9 Few of them attended Parliament; many did not reside in Ireland. The Government, as the dispenser of peerages and promotions, could in almost any event reckon on a majority in the House of Lords

From 1494 to 1782 the Irish Parliament was not a free and independent legislature. In 1494 Sir Edward Povnings, a deputy sent over by Henry VII., held a Parliament at Drogheda in which several statutes were enacted for bringing the country into closer dependence on the Crown. By one of these Acts it was provided that no Parliament should be held in Ireland until the King's lieutenant and his Council had certified to the King the causes and considerations for holding it, or, in other words, submitting to him all the Acts intended to be passed by it.3 This preliminary restriction proved so inconvenient that it was relaxed in Mary's reign, and it was enacted that proposed laws might be transmitted by the Council during the sitting of Parliament.4 In the eighteenth century a measure which was passed by either house of Parliament was laid before the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council of Ireland as 'Heads of a Bill,' which differed only in the introductory words from a proposed

¹ Perry, History of the Church of England, iii. 150.

² Hardy, Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont, i. 102, 213.

^{* 10} Hen. VII. c. 4, Irish; Lord Mountmorres, History of the Irish Parliament, i. 48; Bagwell, Ireland under the Tudors, i. 112.

³ and 4 P. and M. c. 4, Irish; Lord Mountmorres, i. 63.

enactment. The Council could either suppress it or alter it at its discretion. If approved by that body, it was transmitted to England and was laid before a committee of the Privy Council, assisted by the Attorney and Solicitor General, which also had the power of altering it or suppressing it altogether. If it was accepted in England, it was sent back with the alterations, if any, made in it, to the House of Parliament in which it originated, and thence passed to the other House. Parliament might accept or reject a Bill thus sent back to it, but had no power to alter the form in which it was returned from England.

While its legislative power generally was thus limited, full authority with respect to money Bills was also denied to it by the Crown. Before a Parliament was held it was usual for the Irish Council, in pursuance of Poynings' Law, to transmit a short money Bill to England as a reason for holding it. This led to violent disputes, and money Bills as returned from England were constantly rejected, for it was contended that such a method of procedure was contrary to the constitutional maxim that all grants should originate with the Commons. For the same reason it was maintained that any money Bill transmitted to England should be returned unaltered save for mere verbal changes. This was denied by the Privy Council. While, however, the Commons refused to admit the dictation of the Council with reference to grants, they, of their own authority, would readily vote supplies of the same amount and character as those asked of them. The legislative power of the Irish Parliament was also weakened by the Parliament of Great Britain, which on various occasions passed Bills affecting Ireland, as in the case of the Schism Act of 1714, and, in 1719 declared, in an Act 'for better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain,' that it had 'full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.' By the same Act the Irish House of Lords was deprived of its appellate jurisdiction.1 This abrogation of the judicial functions of the Upper

^{&#}x27; 5 Geo. I. c. 5; Plowden, Historical Review, i. 249.

House seems to have been regarded by Irishmen as a cause of its political unimportance.¹

As the expenses of the Government could no longer be defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown, Parliament, which in earlier days had been summoned irregularly and sometimes at long intervals, was in the eighteenth century summoned every other year. The Lord-Lieutenant's office was biennial; he went to Ireland before the opening of Parliament, and until 1767 usually resided there only for six months. During his absence the Government was administered by three lords justices, one of them generally an archbishop, and since 1726 usually the primate, the other two laymen of high position, such as the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker. Twice during the early years of the reign of George III. a Lord-Lieutenant resigned office without having landed in Ireland; neither Lord Weymouth nor the Earl of Bristol—the one appointed in 1765, the other in 1766—set foot in the kingdom, though both accepted the 3,000/, granted for a Lord-Lieutenant's equipage in addition to the 16,000/. the yearly salary of the office.

A Lord-Lieutenant who was in Ireland only for six months in two years could not himself secure the success of Government measures. This was done for him by three or four great men who had 'such influence in the Commons that their coalition commanded a majority on any question,' and who bargained to carry on the King's business in Parliament. These 'undertakers,' as they were called, were allowed to manage the country and to dispense the patronage of the Crown, which they used to keep their followers faithful and in a state of dependence.2 This system presents an exaggerated resemblance to that by which the Whig magnates in England retained their hold upon the Government before they were attacked by George III. It led to jobbery, corruption, and extravagant expenditure. The revenue was burdened with unmerited pensions and salaries attached to sinecure or useless places, with the cost of

¹ Hardy, Memoirs of Charlemont, i. 102; Baratariana, p. 301.

² Plowden, History, ii. 152-153; Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 22-23, 144, Hist. MSS. Comm. Report xii. App. x.

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Before 1768 the life of an Irish Parliament, unless cut short by dissolution, only expired with the demise of the Crown; one Parliament lasted all through the reign of George I., the next during the thirty-three years of the reign of George II. With no fear of an election before them, members were apt to regard their seats as affording opportunity for profit, as enabling them to obtain a share of the offices and other favours which the undertakers distributed in order to keep their party together, and to add to its number. Yet, in spite of the evils of this system, it had some compensating advantages. The ruling oligarchy was Irish; the 'Irish interest' was in the ascendant; Ireland was in no small degree preserved from becoming the prey of alien officials and adventurers, and the undertakers conferred some substantial benefits upon her by carrying out public works, a fruitful source of jobbery, and by encouraging her trade, which was cramped by restrictions. Political corruption in Ireland was perhaps not greater than in England at the same period, and we must remember that many a transaction which seems to us utterly corrupt was then held to be a natural and even laudable exercise of patronage. 'The evil,' and the most patriotic Irishmen so regarded it, 'was not capital as it stood, and at worst it was domestic,' and as such it would probably have decreased, for the number of wealthy and educated men was growing larger, and a narrow oligarchy would have found it increasingly difficult to retain exclusive power by corrupt means.2 It ceased to be domestic; and the corruption of political life in Ireland attained its full growth when stimulated by the Crown through the agency of the Castle.3

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¹ Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 144.

³ Lecky, *History*, iv. 355-356.

² Baratariana, pp. 131-132.

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The change, however, was not effected until 1767, when the Marquis Townshend, the brother of Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was appointed to the lieutenancy. Townshend, a keen soldier and an efficient general, had done good service in Canada, though he excited derision by his vaingloriousness and indignation by arrogating to himself more than his share in Wolfe's victory. He was able and courageous, and was frank and jovial in manner, but his genius was erratic; he was utterly deficient in tact and judgment, and was prone to dissipation. He was sent over to break the power of the undertakers, and form a party under the direct control of the Crown, and to obtain the consent of Parliament to an augmentation of the army. George rightly judged that the military forces of the Crown were too small: and as it would have been difficult to obtain a vote for the increase of the army maintained by Great Britain, he desired to raise the number of men on the Irish establishment, the British garrison quartered in and maintained by Ireland, from 12,000 to 15,325, and in order to obtain this augmentation the Government was prepared to make certain concessions to the patriotic party in Ireland.

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¹ Chatham Correspondence, iii. 51.

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In the Irish Parliament there was no such sharp division into two camps, no such constant cleavage between the

¹ Chatham Correspondence, iii. 51.

supporters of the Government and an organised opposition as existed in England. This was partly due to the prominence in its proceedings of domestic questions consequent on its dependent position, and partly to the decisive influence exercised by political connection and the personal interests of the great borough owners. Yet from a few years before Townshend's arrival a party, which was not indeed very coherent, had been seeking to improve the political condition of the kingdom. Its members chafed under the limitations imposed on their Parliament, and the overwhelming power exercised by the oligarchy in alliance with the Castle. Few in number, they had little success in Parliament, where in 1767 they were vigorously led by the veteran patriot, Doctor Charles Lucas, and Henry Flood, a skilful debater and a master of parliamentary argument, which at that time seems to have been more practised and more highly esteemed in the Irish Parliament than oratorical display.1 Outside Parliament, however, they aroused a strong public feeling in favour of the objects for which they contended.2 For the present they chiefly aimed at limiting the duration of Parliament to seven years, as in England, where that limit had been fixed by the Septennial Act of 1716; at obtaining the appointment of judges during good behaviour instead of at pleasure, and at the restriction of the pension list.

With pensions our document is largely concerned. Pensions for life or a term of years could not be granted by the Crown with any show of legality except out of its hereditary revenues, consisting chiefly of rents, the excise, tonnage and poundage, and hearth-money, a tax of two shillings on each hearth granted in 1662 in lieu of the profits from the Court of Wards,³ and the larger part of this revenue was appropriated to specific purposes. Nevertheless pensions were granted on the general establishment, and that not merely for political services, but to persons who had little or no connection with Ireland, for Ireland could be

Lecky, Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, p. 68; W. Flood, Memoirs of H. Flood, p. 63; Baratariana, p. 29.

² Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 25; Plowden, Historical Review, i. 391.

² Carte, Life of Ormond, iv. 98-100.

Boyle came into the good graces of the Castle in 1756, he received 2,000% for thirty-one years with the title of Earl of Shannon. But as a rule their claims on the pension list were small; they distributed the public money chiefly through jobbery and salaries annexed to places, many with no duties or duties performed by subordinates, for the devolution of functions was largely practised.

Townshend arrived in Ireland in October 1767. The oligarchical leaders, alarmed by some indiscreet words of his predecessor Bristol, who did not come over, regarded him with suspicion, dreading an attack upon their power, and he sought support among men of a lower class whose good will he gained by his unceremonious manners and festive habits.1 Shannon, Hely Hutchinson, the Prime Serjeant, and John Ponsonby, the Speaker, made him the usual offer: they would carry the King's business, including the augmentation of the army, through Parliament, if they might dispense patronage among their followers and have certain good things for themselves, as in Hutchinson's case, among other items, a place or pension of 500/, a year for the joint lives of himself and his two young sons. Townshend was forbidden by the British Government to make any such bargain, and the would-be undertakers went into opposition.2 On behalf of the Government, Townshend had promised the independence of the judges, but the Bill was returned from England with an alteration. The British Government would not allow any independent function to the Irish Parliament; and the royal policy of establishing direct control over the affairs of Ireland implied the maintenance of the Viceroy's Privy Council, as a kind of fourth estate predominant over the two legislative Houses.3 Accordingly the Bill, as returned, provided that a representation from Parliament for the removal of a judge should be certified by the Lord-Lieutenant and his Council. Indignant at this alteration, for which Townshend was unfairly blamed, the Commons unanimously rejected the Bill

¹ Harcourt Paters, x. 234.

² Lord Fitzmaurice, Life of Shelburne, ii. 101-4.

³ Baratariana, pp. 99, 338.

750%. had been granted for life in 1714, because George I. believed himself to be her father by his mistress, Mme. Kielmansegge, Countess of Darlington, and the remaining 500% at pleasure in 1753, after she had lost her husband, who had an Irish peerage. When in 1746 Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer of Kent, married Edward Finch, afterwards Finch-Hatton, a younger son of the Earl of Winchilsea, and an officer of the royal household, she had 800% a year settled on her and her husband from the Irish revenues, which was increased to 1,000% five years later. Augustus Schutz, the Master of the Robes to George II., had 1,200% granted him in 1749 for thirty-one years. This glorified valet, the son of a German baron, was celebrated by Lord Hervey in the lines—

There's another court booby, at once hot and dull, Your pious pimp Schutz, a mean Hanover tool.

Horace Walpole tells a story which represents him as not knowing where Florence was, but that probably is a scandal: for, as he was liked by the Queen, he could scarcely have been quite such a fool as it was the fashion to make him out.1 Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had 2,000l. a year for life from 1758, and in 1767 2,000/, more was added during pleasure: he had done good service as a general, and Ireland had the burden of rewarding him. So, too, no one would grudge Hawke the 2,000l. a year granted to him and his two sons for their lives in 1760, though Ireland was scarcely more gratified than England by his victory over Conflans. Nor was Ireland specially interested in Mme. Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth, the mistress of George II., yet in 1760 the Irish pension list was augmented by 4,000l. granted to her and her representatives for thirty-one years. George III. looked to Ireland for a provision for his relatives. Besides the Landgravine of Hesse, the Princess Augusta had 5,000%. for life, and his brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, 3,000/L each during pleasure. The Irish oligarchy took care of themselves and their followers, and when Henry

¹ Hervey, Memoirs of George II., ii. 75, 327, iii. 7; H. Walpole, Letters, i. 297.

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A measure which would terminate their existence such as a Septennial Bill was not attractive to the Commons, and still less to the undertakers, who saw that it threatened their power. Yet the demand outside Parliament was so loud that the Shannon and Ponsonby party joined the patriots in adopting it, partly because they wished to oppose the Government, which was averse from any change of a kind to strengthen the position of Parliament, partly to gain credit with the nation, and partly to satisfy their new allies. They and their followers trusted that the heads of the Bill would not be returned from England, and that they might thus be able to lay the blame of its rejection on the Cabinet Thrice already had the Privy Council refused to return a Septennial Bill, but it would play their game no longer, and in 1768, to their astonishment and dismay,2 the Bill was returned only altered in that eight instead of seven years was made the limit, so as to prevent a general election being held in both countries at the same time. The Octennial Bill was passed by the Commons generally with ill-dissembled reluctance, by the Lords with delight as it brought increased opportunities for profit and patronage. It was hailed by the Protestant part of the nation with public rejoicing, and Townshend's popularity was for the moment unbounded. In Parliament, however, he could only reckon on the support of a few highly placed officials and the county members, 'the country gentlemen.' It was therefore a bad time to propose the augmentation scheme, for the Octennial Act made the Parliament moribund, and members would be unwilling to vote for an increase in expenditure on the eve of seeking re-election. Townshend asked the Government to consent to a delay, but discontent was growing in the American Colonies, and Lord Shelburne, then Secretary of State, insisted that the proposal should be made at once. The augmentation was refused by 108 to 104, the Shannon and Ponsonby party voting with the patriots: the narrowness of the majority proved that the influence of the Crown was growing; it was 'the foundation of future victory.'3

Harcourt Papers, x. 236. ² Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 26-7. ³ Life of Shelburne, ii. 110-16; Harcourt Papers, x. 234.

The new Parliament did not meet until October 17, 1769. and Townshend employed the interval of sixteen months in creating what his opponents called a 'new English interest.' Four of his chief supporters received peerages, other honours were distributed, and 'not a commission in the revenue worth above 40% could be disposed of without his approbation.'1 Yet, ready as Irishmen were to sell their voices in Parliament, there were questions, all matters touching the rights of their Parliament, about which at that time bargaining was useless. The Privy Council sent over a money Bill which had not originated in Parliament, but had been transmitted by the Irish Council, pursuant to the English interpretation of Povnings' Law, 'as a cause and consideration' for holding the Parliament. It was rejected by the Commons 'because it did not take its rise in that House.' Townshend dissembled his anger until he had obtained his supplies and the passing of the Augmentation Bill, which was rendered less obnoxious by a proviso, founded on an offer from the Crown, that not less than 12,000 men should always be kept in Ireland, unless the Irish Parliament decided otherwise. Then he quarrelled violently with the Parliament on the question of the money Bill, prorogued it on December 26, and did not suffer it to meet again for fourteen months.

During this long recess he employed every means in his power to secure a majority. Of his chief opponents, Lords Shannon and Lanesborough were deprived of lucrative offices, a crowd of smaller placemen and pensioners met the same fate, and a large number of Privy Councillors were turned out of the Council. His supporters were rewarded; more peerages were created; Hely Hutchinson, the Prime Serjeant, who had deserted the Opposition, received an additional salary, and was allowed to exchange it for the sinecure office of alnager with 1,000l. a year 2; and pensions and places were lavishly bestowed. Violent diatribes were published against the Lord-Lieutenant, his methods, and the men he bought over. They are collected in a volume of anonymous satirical pieces on his administration, entitled 'Baratariana'; they are mostly the work of Grattan, who did not enter

¹ Plowden, Historical Review, i. 389.

² Baratariana, pp. 33-34.

unnecessary works, with bribes of various kinds to members of Parliament.¹ The authority of the undertakers over the House of Commons was supported by the members' independence of their constituents.

Before 1768 the life of an Irish Parliament, unless cut short by dissolution, only expired with the demise of the Crown; one Parliament lasted all through the reign of George I., the next during the thirty-three years of the reign of George II. With no fear of an election before them, members were apt to regard their seats as affording opportunity for profit, as enabling them to obtain a share of the offices and other favours which the undertakers distributed in order to keep their party together, and to add to its number. Yet, in spite of the evils of this system, it had some compensating advantages. The ruling oligarchy was Irish; the 'Irish interest' was in the ascendant; Ireland was in no small degree preserved from becoming the prey of alien officials and adventurers, and the undertakers conferred some substantial benefits upon her by carrying out public works, a fruitful source of jobbery, and by encouraging her trade, which was cramped by restrictions. Political corruption in Ireland was perhaps not greater than in England at the same period, and we must remember that many a transaction which seems to us utterly corrupt was then held to be a natural and even laudable exercise of patronage. 'The evil,' and the most patriotic Irishmen so regarded it, 'was not capital as it stood, and at worst it was domestic,' and as such it would probably have decreased, for the number of wealthy and educated men was growing larger, and a narrow oligarchy would have found it increasingly difficult to retain exclusive power by corrupt means.2 It ceased to be domestic; and the corruption of political life in Ireland attained its full growth when stimulated by the Crown through the agency of the Castle.3

While the legislative power of Parliament was restricted by the King's Privy Council and the Privy Council of the Viceroy, government by undertakers left the Crown without

¹ Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 144.

³ Lecky, *History*, iv. 355-356.

² Baratariana, pp. 131-132.

any further direct influence over the affairs of the country. The distribution of its patronage for the most part only increased the power of a small junto which overshadowed the authority and not infrequently overrode the wishes of the King's representatives. George III., who was determined to destroy the dominance of the Whig oligarchy, and rule as well as reign in England, desired to follow a like line of policy in Ireland, and to bring government by undertakers to an end by requiring the Lord-Lieutenant to reside in Ireland. The breaking up of a political confederacy was thoroughly in accordance with the sentiments of the Earl of Chatham, and as soon as he took office in 1766, the Cabinet adopted a resolution which was carried out by the appointment of Bristol as Lord-Lieutenant with orders to reside in Ireland as long as he held that office.¹

The change, however, was not effected until 1767, when the Marquis Townshend, the brother of Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was appointed to the lieutenancy. Townshend, a keen soldier and an efficient general. had done good service in Canada, though he excited derision by his vaingloriousness and indignation by arrogating to himself more than his share in Wolfe's victory. He was able and courageous, and was frank and jovial in manner, but his genius was erratic; he was utterly deficient in tact and judgment, and was prone to dissipation. He was sent over to break the power of the undertakers, and form a party under the direct control of the Crown, and to obtain the consent of Parliament to an augmentation of the army. George rightly judged that the military forces of the Crown were too small; and as it would have been difficult to obtain a vote for the increase of the army maintained by Great Britain, he desired to raise the number of men on the Irish establishment, the British garrison quartered in and maintained by Ireland, from 12,000 to 15,325, and in order to obtain this augmentation the Government was prepared to make certain concessions to the patriotic party in Ireland.

In the Irish Parliament there was no such sharp division into two camps, no such constant cleavage between the

¹ Chatham Correspondence, iii. 51.

supporters of the Government and an organised opposition as existed in England. This was partly due to the prominence in its proceedings of domestic questions consequent on its dependent position, and partly to the decisive influence exercised by political connection and the personal interests of the great borough owners. Yet from a few years before Townshend's arrival a party, which was not indeed very coherent, had been seeking to improve the political condition of the kingdom. Its members chafed under the limitations imposed on their Parliament, and the overwhelming power exercised by the oligarchy in alliance with the Castle. Few in number, they had little success in Parliament, where in 1767 they were vigorously led by the veteran patriot, Doctor Charles Lucas, and Henry Flood, a skilful debater and a master of parliamentary argument, which at that time seems to have been more practised and more highly esteemed in the Irish Parliament than oratorical display.1 Outside Parliament, however, they aroused a strong public feeling in favour of the objects for which they contended.2 For the present they chiefly aimed at limiting the duration of Parliament to seven years, as in England, where that limit had been fixed by the Septennial Act of 1716; at obtaining the appointment of judges during good behaviour instead of at pleasure, and at the restriction of the pension list.

With pensions our document is largely concerned, Pensions for life or a term of years could not be granted by the Crown with any show of legality except out of its hereditary revenues, consisting chiefly of rents, the excise, tonnage and poundage, and hearth-money, a tax of two shillings on each hearth granted in 1662 in lieu of the profits from the Court of Wards, and the larger part of this revenue was appropriated to specific purposes. Nevertheless pensions were granted on the general establishment, and that not merely for political services, but to persons who had little or no connection with Ireland, for Ireland could be

¹ Lecky, Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, p. 68; W. Flood, Memoirs of H. Flood, p. 63; Baratariana, p. 29.

² Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 25; Plowden, Historical Review, i. 391.

² Carte, Life of Ormond, iv. 98-100.

burdened with greater impunity than Great Britain. In 1757, when George II. proposed to saddle Ireland with a pension of 6,000l. a year to his daughter Mary, the Landgravine of Hesse, and her children, the Duke of Bedford, the Lord-Lieutenant, wrote that the pension list, which in 1727 amounted to 37,994l. 10s., had risen to 55,253l. 15s.1 During the first three years of George III. additions had been made amounting to 17,000l. a year, including 1,000l. a year for thirty-one years to 'George Charles, Esquire,' a name which hid the identity of Count de Viri, the Sardinian ambassador, and one of Lord Butes's agents. The list then amounted to about 72,000%, while the whole of the hereditary revenue which was unappropriated to specific purposes did not exceed 7,000l.2 The King authorised the Earl of Northumberland to promise that no more pensions should be granted for lives or years 'except on extraordinary occasions.' Nevertheless the list had reached 86,741/. when Townshend took office, and, in spite of his promise, George in 1770 granted Jeremiah Dyson, an English politician and one of the party called 'the King's friends,' 1,000l. a year on the Irish establishment for the lives of himself, his three sons, and the survivor of them. This pension caused great discontent, and was vehemently attacked in Parliament; but in 1775 a proposal not to provide for it was negatived by 94 to 70.3

Some other pensions may be noticed here as illustrating the way in which the Crown used the revenues of Ireland both before, and to an even greater extent during the period when Parliament was managed by undertakers, to endow persons who can scarcely be said to have had much, if anything, to do with the country except live upon her.⁴ The Dowager Viscountess Howe had 1,250*l.* a year, of which

² Plowden, Historical Review, i. 356-361; H. Walpole, Memoirs of George III. i. 268.

¹ Correspondence of the Duke of Bedford, ii. 273.

³ Harcourt to North, Nov. 20, 1773; Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 140, 199; Baratariana, pp. 228, 240; Commons' Journals, xvii. 179, 182.

^{*} These pensions will be found in a list presented to Parliament in 1773, Commons' fournals, xvi. 169-175.

750l. had been granted for life in 1714, because George I. believed himself to be her father by his mistress, Mme. Kielmansegge, Countess of Darlington, and the remaining 500l. at pleasure in 1753, after she had lost her husband, who had an Irish peerage. When in 1746 Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Palmer of Kent, married Edward Finch, afterwards Finch-Hatton, a younger son of the Earl of Winchilsea, and an officer of the royal household, she had 800l. a year settled on her and her husband from the Irish revenues, which was increased to 1,000l. five years later. Augustus Schutz, the Master of the Robes to George II., had 1,200l. granted him in 1749 for thirty-one years. This glorified valet, the son of a German baron, was celebrated by Lord Hervey in the lines—

There's another court booby, at once hot and dull, Your pious pimp Schutz, a mean Hanover tool.

Horace Walpole tells a story which represents him as not knowing where Florence was, but that probably is a scandal; for, as he was liked by the Queen, he could scarcely have been quite such a fool as it was the fashion to make him out.1 Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had 2,000l. a year for life from 1758, and in 1767 2,000l. more was added during pleasure: he had done good service as a general, and Ireland had the burden of rewarding him. So, too, no one would grudge Hawke the 2,000l. a year granted to him and his two sons for their lives in 1760, though Ireland was scarcely more gratified than England by his victory over Conflans. Nor was Ireland specially interested in Mme. Walmoden, Countess of Yarmouth, the mistress of George II., yet in 1760 the Irish pension list was augmented by 4,000l. granted to her and her representatives for thirty-one years. George III. looked to Ireland for a provision for his relatives. Besides the Landgravine of Hesse, the Princess Augusta had 5,000l. for life, and his brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, 3,000/. each during pleasure. The Irish oligarchy took care of themselves and their followers, and when Henry

¹ Hervey, Memoirs of George II., ii. 75, 327, iii. 7; H. Walpole, Letters, i. 297.

Boyle came into the good graces of the Castle in 1756, he received 2,000/. for thirty-one years with the title of Earl of Shannon. But as a rule their claims on the pension list were small; they distributed the public money chiefly through jobbery and salaries annexed to places, many with no duties or duties performed by subordinates, for the devolution of functions was largely practised.

Townshend arrived in Ireland in October 1767. The oligarchical leaders, alarmed by some indiscreet words of his predecessor Bristol, who did not come over, regarded him with suspicion, dreading an attack upon their power, and he sought support among men of a lower class whose good will he gained by his unceremonious manners and festive habits.1 Shannon, Hely Hutchinson, the Prime Serjeant, and John Ponsonby, the Speaker, made him the usual offer: they would carry the King's business, including the augmentation of the army, through Parliament, if they might dispense patronage among their followers and have certain good things for themselves, as in Hutchinson's case, among other items, a place or pension of 500% a year for the joint lives of himself and his two young sons. Townshend was forbidden by the British Government to make any such bargain, and the would-be undertakers went into opposition.2 On behalf of the Government, Townshend had promised the independence of the judges, but the Bill was returned from England with an alteration. The British Government would not allow any independent function to the Irish Parliament; and the royal policy of establishing direct control over the affairs of Ireland implied the maintenance of the Viceroy's Privy Council, as a kind of fourth estate predominant over the two legislative Houses.3 Accordingly the Bill, as returned, provided that a representation from Parliament for the removal of a judge should be certified by the Lord-Lieutenant and his Council. Indignant at this alteration, for which Townshend was unfairly blamed, the Commons unanimously rejected the Bill.

¹ Harcourt Paters, x. 234.

² Lord Fitzmaurice, Life of Shelburne, ii. 101-4.

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¹ Plowden, Historical Review, i. 389.

² Baratariana, pp. 33-34.

Parliament until the end of 1775, Hercules (afterwards Sir Hercules) Langrishe, and Henry Flood, and, with the exception of some verses, are for the most part rather dreary reading, as is often the case with bygone political satire. 'Never,' writes the indignant satirist, 'did the mysteries of corruption make such a progress as at this period'; but what weighed most with him was that pensions and places were taken from the party of opposition and given or sold to those 'who had the resolution to sacrifice their country.'

Townshend's work was successful. When Parliament again met, on February 26, 1771, an address thanking the King for continuing him in office was carried by 132 to 107. Disheartened at finding his friends dropping off, Ponsonby resigned the Speakership, which had a salary of 4,000/, and gained popularity by alleging as his reason that he would not carry up this address.2 Government influence procured the election of Edmond Sexton Pery 3 as his successor. Perv had hitherto acted with the Opposition, and he was described by his former allies as 'a patriot turned courtier,' which, as his subsequent conduct showed, was unjust. Townshend had no more serious trouble with Parliament; he completed the disintegration and rout of the Opposition by the same means that he had already employed against it, and soon had a settled majority of one-third of the House. He is said to have recommended additional pensions of 25,000l., and to have actually added 23,000l. to the list.4 It would, perhaps, be impossible to ascertain the amount which his recommendations added after as well as before his recall, but during his lieutenancy a large number of civil pensions determined, including the Hesse pension of 5,000l., in all to the amount of 27,167l. 15s.; additional pensions were. however, granted of 19,686l. 5s., so that the saving to the country was only 7,491l. 10s., and the amount of pensions on the civil establishment on November 30, 1772, was 79,249l. 17s. 6d.5 Townshend also invented fresh opportunities

¹ Baratariana, p. 185.

² Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 39-40; Harcourt Papers, x. 238.

² Page 42. ⁴ H. Walpole, Memoirs of George III., iv. 231-2.

⁶ Commons' Journals, xvi. 166-7.

for patronage by creating a new revenue board for the Excise, which he put under a separate administration from the Customs. This may have been the means of increasing the revenue; it certainly increased the expense of collecting it, and was an unpopular measure. Public hatred of him waxed strong: he defied it, exasperated his opponents by exercising his skill in caricature against them, and lived in open profligacy and debauchery. His political success was marred by the hatred and contempt that his conduct excited, and he was recalled in 1772.

He was succeeded by Lord Harcourt, who had been ambassador to the Court of Versailles since 1768. Harcourt, though not exempt from the prevailing habit of excessive drinking, was a man of high character; he had a fair amount of ability and was courteous in manner, but he was shy and retiring. In his political duties he relied much on his Chief Secretary, Colonel John Blaquiere, who had been his secretary of legation in France. Blaquiere was trustworthy and adroit, well skilled in the management of men, convivial in his tastes, and a good public speaker. Harcourt knew his value and generously acknowledged it in his correspondence with Lord North, then head of the Government, and Lord Rochford, Blaquiere's personal friend, the Secretary of State to whose department Irish affairs belonged; indeed the relations between the Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary speak well for the characters of both.1 The general disgust at Townshend's doings secured his successor a special welcome. Harcourt arrived at Dublin on November 30, and received marked civility from the Duke of Leinster, Lords Kildare and Shannon, and Flood.2 The political sky was serene. Soon after his arrival Blaquiere won the good opinion of Irishmen by his intrepid conduct in a duel with Beauchamp Bagenall. The cause of their

¹ Harcourt to North, November 9, 1773, and August 4, 1774; Rochford to Harcourt, October 22, 1773. Lord Charlemont gives a less pleasant character of Blaquiere (Manuscripts, i. 35), but allowance must be made for political feeling. That Blaquiere was, if he was, 'a man of low birth and no property'—his father was a merchant of sorts—did not prevent the ex-colonel of dragoons from being a gentleman and a good fellow.

² Harcourt to Rochford, December 8, 1772.

quarrel was that Blaquiere, while chargé d'affaires at Paris, had refused to present Bagenall at the French Court because he had not been presented in England.¹

Harcourt's instructions from the Government were that he should check applications for peerages and pensions, and that he should seek to lighten the charges on the hereditary revenue, and specially the bounty on the inland carriage of corn, granted under Bedford in 1758, a year of scarcity, in order to relieve the distress in Dublin and to encourage agriculture. The bounty in 1773 amounted to 44,5081.2 He soon found that it was not easy to check requests. Shannon promised his support, and made half a dozen requests on behalf of his followers that St. Leger 3 might be created Baron Doneraile; that Denham Jephson 4 might have a pension of 600l.; that Nicholas Lysaght,5 'a good officer,' might be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Cork and promoted brevet major; that James Dennis,6 the King's Second Serjeant, might be made Prime Serjeant, or Attorney- or Solicitor - General whichever place fell vacant first; that Richard Townsend 7 might succeed to a Chief Commissioner's place; and that the Dean of Cork might have the Bishopric of Cork when the present bishop died. Harcourt held out hopes that his requests would be granted.8

Parliament did not meet again until October 12, 1773, so Harcourt had time to make his plans. One threatened difficulty, a revival of a scheme for a port at Lough Swilly, seems to have been surmounted; it had been pressed in Townshend's time, and strongly opposed by the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and the Corporation of London, as against their interests, and by the Commissioners of Customs. Blaquiere settled with North that the revenue boards divided by Townshend should be reunited, and this measure gave great satisfaction to Parliament and the public generally; it

¹ Page 2; Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 314; Annual Register (1773), xvi. 77.

² Rochford to Harcourt, October 26, 1772; Harcourt Papers, x. 250; Commons' Journals, xvi. 466.

³ Page 46. ⁴ Page 29. ⁵ Page 33. ⁶ Page 17.

⁷ Page 51. ⁸ Harcourt to North, December 20, 1772.

⁹ Page 41; North to Harcourt, April 11, 1773.

involved, however, pensions of 3,600*l*. to those who lost their offices.¹ Another saving was made in respect of 'private jobs,' a source of large expenditure during the undertakers' rule; the amount spent on them had been reduced by Townshend from 119,000*l*. to 67,000*l*., and was now further reduced to 34,000*l*.² Under the new system jobbery was as far as possible to be the prerogative of the Crown.

These economies, however, were insufficient for the needs of the kingdom. 'Our distresses,' Harcourt wrote, 'have increased to such a degree that almost an entire stop is put to all payments whatever, except for the subsistence of the army, and at times it has been difficult to find money even for this purpose. I have reason to think that the arrears upon the establishment by next Christmas will not fall short of 300,000l.' Nevertheless, the King was proposing the grant of a pension of 3,000% a year from Ireland to his sister, Caroline Matilda, the divorced wife of Christian VII. of Denmark. Harcourt feared that the demand would indispose Parliament to take decided steps towards putting the revenue on a satisfactory footing, and begged for delay.3 The ex-Queen got her pension in 1774, but Ireland was soon relieved from the burden of maintaining her, for she died the next year. New taxation was imperative, and Blaquiere 4 proposed a tax on the rents of absentee landlords, which are said to have amounted to 732,000l. Absenteeism was one of the chief curses of Ireland; there was no land tax in that country, and the absentee landlord spent in other lands the income he derived from Ireland without contributing to the support of the Government which protected his property. The proposed tax was equitable, and was extremely popular in Ireland.

In England, however, the owners of land in Ireland were

¹ Pages 19, 52, 88, Harcourt to North, October 3 and November 9, 1773; Commons' Journals, xvi. 344.

² Harcourt to North, November 1773; Harcourt Papers, x. 119; Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 157.

³ Harcourt to North, April 24, 1773.

⁴ That the proposal was specially Blaquiere's, though Harcourt was responsible for it and adopted it, appears from a letter of the King's, Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 156.

strongly opposed to it, and five great Whig lords of the Rockingham party who held vast estates in Ireland sent a letter to Lord North remonstrating against it.1 The letter was probably composed by Burke, their constant adviser, who also wrote against the proposal.2 The London companies which held land in Ireland joined in the outcry. The King disliked the tax itself, and was specially adverse to the proposal because it stood alone and did not form part of a scheme which included the regulation of the corn bounty.3 Before these difficulties North and Rochford, who had at first listened to Blaquiere's arguments with approval, gave way, and North wrote that he could not uphold the proposal, as he was not enabled to represent it as a necessary part of a general scheme for relieving the distress of the Irish Government.4 In order, therefore, not to embarrass the Ministers and yet not to discredit themselves, Harcourt and Blaquiere determined to ride for a fall; the proposal should be committed to 'a certain wild inconsistent gentleman,' and should not be pressed by the Chief Secretary. Their design was favoured by a report set about by opponents of the measure that it was a step towards a general land tax.

On the day for the motion, November 25, 'the wild and inconsistent gentleman' played his part. He was probably James Fortescue, member for county Louth, for a Mr. Fortescue certainly made the first motion on the subject. Writing a few hours later, however, Harcourt says that he did not name any amount for the tax, and that he was persuaded to withdraw his motion, whereas elsewhere his motion is said to have been for a shilling in the pound, and to have been defeated on a division. Harcourt may, however, have been imperfectly informed at the time of writing, and Fortescue may have wished to withdraw his motion and have not been allowed to do so. An amendment was moved by Silver

² Letter to Sir C. Bingham, Works, v. 497, sqq.

¹ Memoirs of Rockingham, ii. 227, sqq., and elsewhere.

² Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 155-156, 158-159.
⁴ North to Harcourt, October 29, 1773.
⁵ Page 21.

^o Harcourt to orth, Nov. 26, 1773; but see W. Flood, Memoirs of H. Flood, p. 90.

Oliver, member for county Limerick, who proposed a tax of two shillings in the pound on the rents of landlords absent from Ireland for six months of any year. The debate began at three in the afternoon and lasted till near two in the morning. Flood spoke with vehemence and ability in favour of Oliver's motion, which was also supported by the Speaker, Sir Lucius O'Brien, William Brownlowe, Serjeant Dennis, and others. Blaquiere was tepid, and remarked that he and his best friends' would probably vote differently. The motion was lost by 102 to 122. An ineffectual attempt to induce the House to reconsider its decision caused Harcourt some anxiety, and did not pass without some severe remarks on the change in the policy of the Castle.

Money had to be sought from other sources. The deficit on the year was 138,840%, there were floating debts of 400,000%, and the national debt, which was discharged in 1754, and started again under the Duke of Bedford, amounted to 994,890%. Government proposed to raise 265,000% by a tontine, granting annuities on lives at 6 per cent. with the benefit of survivorship. Harcourt put the saving effected by reuniting the revenue boards at 10,000%, and thought that by 'regulation and reduction' this sum might be raised to 50,000%; a Stamp Act and other duties on wine, fine teas, &c. would produce 88,800%, and so the yearly deficit would be supplied.6

The Commons consented, but the Privy Council, apparently from a desire to assert its control, returned the Bills with alterations. The House 'was in a flame'; the rejection of the Bills was certain, and all Harcourt could do was to persuade two or three members to prevent it from being unanimous: he would not forget their compliance. The Commons, having made their protest, passed the Supply Bills, adopting most of the Council's alterations, though Ponsonby, Barry Barry, and the party of the Duke of Leinster, who had

¹ Page 40; Lecky, misled by Hardy's *Charlemont*, believed that Flood was the mover (*Hist.* iv. 412), but on this matter Harcourt's letter, of November 26, is decisive.

² Page 39. ³ Page 8. ⁴ Page 17. ⁵ Page 16.

⁶ Harcourt to North, December 6, 1773.

⁷ Page 16; Harcourt to North, December 30, 1773. ⁸ Page 3.

succeeded his father on November 19, voted against the Government, and the new duties were secured for a year and nine months from March 25, 1774. The Commons were gratified by the consent of the British Government to a Bill for granting bounties on the exportation of Irish corn, and they partially relieved the hereditary revenue by providing that the bounties on the inland carriage of corn charged upon it should not for the future exceed 35,000/L; any charge above that amount was to be supplied by taxation.

As a rule Harcourt could reckon on a good majority in Parliament, for he steadily pursued the plan of gratifying members by his use of the Crown patronage. Blaquiere, who in the summer of 1774 became Sir John, receiving the 'red ribband' of the Order of the Bath, exercised an authority in the House of Commons which, combined with his tactical skill, was of the highest value on any critical occasion,1 and was indefatigable in cajolery and in practising the arts of seduction, so that according to Charlemont 'the whole period of Lord Harcourt's vicerovalty was a continued job.'2 One of his successes, incomplete at the date of our document, is specially famous. By the autumn of 1773 Harcourt had reason to believe that Flood, the leader of the patriots since the death of Lucas, might be won over by an offer of place.3 Blaquiere promised him some great office and, Flood maintained, the first that fell vacant. A fine opportunity for strengthening the Government party occurred in June, 1774: Andrews, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, died. Before the breath was out of Andrews's body, Harcourt begged Rochford to see that the appointment was reserved for his gift, that it was not made in London. He had many applications, for the office was one of dignity, and was worth 2,000/. a year. By the statutes it could only be held by an ecclesiastic, but the Crown had dispensed with this rule in the appointment of Andrews, and might do so again.4 Among Harcourt's many embarrassments none had been 'more difficult than to make a proper provision for Mr. Flood.'

Page 43. 2 Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 35.

³ Harcourt to North, October 3, 1773.

⁴ Harcourt to Rochford, June 16 and 19, 1774.

Now this seemed possible—not that he meant to give him the provostship, for that was an appointment for life, and he thought that if Flood found himself secure, he might some day prove ungrateful, but he saw his way to provide him 'with a great and honourable appointment' held at pleasure.

Harcourt developed his plan. He wanted the provostship for Hely Hutchinson, the prime serjeant and alnager.1 Hutchinson's place as prime serjeant was worth 1,100% a year, and his professional earnings brought up his profits to between 4,000l. and 5,000l. As alnager he had 1,800l., but 800/. of this he had bought for an unfinished term of twenty-one years for 5,000l. He was tired of the bar, and desired to retire from practice and 'cultivate the arts and sciences.' Harcourt said a good deal about his fitness for the provostship, but the plain truth is that he wished to rob the University of 2,000/. a year to gratify a political supporter.2 Hutchinson, however, was not to give up too much, and Harcourt recommended that a request that he made in 1772 should be granted, that he and his two young sons and the survivor of them should have the office of searcher of the port of Strangford, and that, the office being valueless, a salary of 1,000/, should be annexed to it. Dennis was to succeed him as prime serjeant to gratify Shannon, with whom this was 'a principal and first object.' The alnage was to go to Flood with 1,000l. a year.

Hutchinson, who in spite of his lack of scholarship did not prove a bad provost, and Dennis received their appointments, but Flood refused the alnage. He was deeply offended because the provostship was not offered to him; he said that Blaquiere had promised him the first great office that fell vacant, and insisted on his importance, and the trouble that he could cause as head of the Opposition.³ He suggested that he should be made a vice-treasurer, which would give him a place in the Privy Councils of Great Britain and Ireland, and was then worth about 1,700% a year. The alnage

¹ A sinecure office so-called from measuring stuff by the ell.

² Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 324.

³ Harcourt to North, most private and confidential, July 8, 1774.

was given to Blaquiere with its original salary of 300l. North was unwilling that Flood should have a vice-treasurership; it was an office always used as a reward for political services in England. Besides, none of the three vice-treasurerships was vacant. Flood insisted on his demand, and Harcourt urged that any expense would be better than having him at the head of the Opposition.²

At last, after many ineffectual efforts, an arrangement was made for a vacancy. Jenkinson, afterwards first Earl of Liverpool, would resign his vice-treasurership for a consideration. A sufficient consideration was supplied. Charles James Fox held the sinecure office of clerk of the pells in Ireland. A ruined gambler, he was in need of ready money, and sold his office for 30,000l., and a pension of 1,700l. a year from Ireland. The agreement between him and Blaquiere was signed on April 12, 1775, the pension being divided into several sums to enable Fox to sell it more easily.3 North was much worried by the business, and declared that it would be his undoing. Such was the state of the affair at the date given in our document.4 Fox did not reap much benefit from the transaction; the ready money of course went to his creditors, and he soon found that he would incur a heavy penalty if he sat in Parliament while holding the pension, and was forced to resign it. Jenkinson had the pells, but when the vacant vice-treasurership was offered to Flood he refused to take it. He went back to the old grievance of not having the provostship. He pointed out that a vice-treasurer was liable to be deprived of office, and finally said that, though he was willing to oblige Harcourt by accepting his offer, he could not do so if it was to add to the burdens of Ireland.5 As Harcourt remarked, he must have known that a vacancy could not be made for him without creating a new pension.9 In October, however, Flood alleged that he was convinced, by an ingenious calculation of Jenkinson's, that the arrange-

4 Page 21.

¹ Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 194.

² Harcourt to North, September 3, 1774.

³ Harcourt Papers, x. 322.

⁵ Harcourt to North, August 13, 1775.

⁶ Harcourt to Blaquiere, September 19, 1775.

ment would only cost the country 350%. a year, while the restoration to Ireland of a great office with a large salary was a matter of national dignity and pecuniary advantage, and he accepted the office for which he had struggled so long.¹

Reports of Flood's contemplated defection got abroad, and while the negotiations were as yet in progress, his friend Charlemont wrote long and urgent letters to him entreating him not to desert the patriotic cause.2 When the matter was decided he did not quarrel with his 'dearest, dear Flood,' and, though he felt that he had lost his friend, kept up friendly relations with him, and in after-years recorded his opinion that Flood had mainly been influenced by a mistaken belief that he could serve his country better in high office than in opposition.3 Lecky adopted this view, and has written an able defence of Flood's integrity.4 Perhaps he scarcely allows due weight to an incident which he notes somewhat cursorily. As early as 1767 Flood eagerly desired a seat in the British Parliament, a more extended field for an ambitious politician than the Parliament of Ireland, and in 1769 was prepared to bid as high as 4,000l. for one 6; but the matter fell through.) He would then have entered the House as an adherent of Chatham and Camden, with whom he was in occasional communication.

In April 1775 Charlemont heard that he was seeking a seat as a follower of North, and refused to believe that he would 'enlist under the banners of a Ministry engaged in operations not only disapproved by your judgment, but abhorrent to the warmest feelings of your heart.' He doubtless alluded—at least chiefly—to the quarrel with the American Colonies. The report was in the main true. Flood asked North to provide him with a seat in 1776, and his

¹ Original Letters to H. Flood, pp. 68-9.

² Ibid., pp. 65-67, 70-84.

³ Charlemont Manuscripts, i. 38-39.

⁴ History, iv. 420-28, where a fuller account of the negotiations is given than seemed called for here, and Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland, pp. 76-8. Flood's own defence was made in Parliament on November 1, 1783 (see Memoirs of H. Flood, pp. 210, sqq.).

⁵ Lecky overlooked this first attempt (see History, iv. 428).

⁶ Letters to Flood, p. 48.

⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

request was declined.¹ It may indeed be pleaded that North wished well to Ireland, and in 1775 and 1779-80 conferred considerable benefits upon her, and that Flood may have acted conscientiously in deserting the American cause for the sake of his own country. But Charlemont knew as much of all this as Flood did, and his opinion should have the greatest possible weight, for he was a man of the nicest honour. Whatever, then, Flood's motives for accepting office may have been, and they doubtless were not wholly selfish, they should not be estimated without taking into account his willingness to become one of North's followers.

In the summer of 1775 Harcourt had some cause for anxiety as to the future. Heavy as the taxes were which had recently been voted, they were insufficient to meet the needs of Government; the expenses of the two years ending at Lady-day had exceeded the revenue by 247,797%; the national debt was stated at 931,690%, and the net amount of civil pensions for the two years at 164,137%. 12s., and the list, as it stood on September 29, amounted to 79,059%. 17s. 6d.2 More money would soon be urgently needed, and it seemed impossible to get it by taxation; the linen manufacture was ruined by the cessation of trade with America, and the profits of agriculture were swept away by an embargo on the exportation of provisions.

The quarrel with the colonies had been growing more and more bitter, and on April 19 war had actually begun. The refusal of the dominant party in the colonies to acknowledge the claim of the British Government to impose internal taxation appealed to the sympathy of Irishmen, who constantly maintained that money Bills could not constitutionally originate elsewhere than in their own House of Commons, and that they must be accepted without alteration. The Presbyterians of the north were almost universally on the American side, and were encouraged in their sentiments by correspondence with leading members of the Opposition in the British Parliament. Many Irish emigrants, mostly, though not exclusively, Protestant, had lately gone over to the colonies, and from them

¹ North to Harcourt, March 25, 1776.

² Commons' Journals, xvii. 115-121, 134, 179; Plowden, Historical Review, 441.

² Blaquiere to North, October 12, 1775 (see Appendix).

came the pick of the rebel forces, and Irishmen thought kindly of a land in which their fellow-countrymen had found a home and prosperity, while as for England, what had she done for them? Sympathy with the revolt was gaining strength daily; at midsummer the municipality of Dublin expressed the feelings of the citizens by a vote of thanks to Lord Effingham for having resigned his command rather than 'draw his sword against the lives and liberties of his fellowsubjects in America.' The Opposition in Parliament was numerically weak, but it would certainly use American affairs as giving opportunity for activity during the coming session, and there was so little stability in the composition of parties, that it might at any time receive an unexpected reinforcement. At this moment the disposition of the Irish Parliament was peculiarly important to the British Government; for the Ministers were anxious to be enabled to prove that the King's policy was not unpopular in Ireland, and the King wanted to withdraw troops from her for service in America.

The regiments in Ireland were not nearly up to their full strength, the infantry regiments on an average not reaching 500 effective men and officers. In January 1775 the number of effective soldiers in the kingdom was 12,636. but so many of these were under orders to sail, that Blaquiere, who was in London, found that the number would be reduced to 11,618 men, 382 less than the Crown was bound to keep in Ireland, and he told Rochford plainly that the Ministers were acting illegally.1 The regiments which came over from England were likewise short of men; the 30th Foot, which landed on April 19, had only 439 effective men and officers, the 3rd Foot, which came over in May, only 430. Rochford wrote to the Lord-Lieutenant that in order to fill vacancies more speedily 'the King granted him leave to connive at the regiments then in Ireland taking Irish recruits.'2 Recruiting was urged forward both in the Catholic south and the Presbyterian north. The Catholics responded eagerly; the rich among them subscribed to give extra bounties on enlistment, and recruits came forward in large

Blaquiere to Harcourt, January 20, 1775.

² Rochford to Harcourt, February 6 and March 31, 1775.

numbers. Between April 6 and May 11, however, 3,619 men and officers were embarked, and on June 1 only 10,736 effective men were left in the country. Harcourt must have expected the notice, which was actually sent to him on August 1, that he would have to inform Parliament that the King desired their concurrence in withdrawing a force of 4,000 men from the already depleted Irish army for service in America. The Catholics had no political power; he would have to appeal to a Parliament of Irish Protestants; how would the announcement be received? It is certain, too, that he and Blaquiere were already contemplating the general election for which, as may be seen in the Appendix, they made preparations in the autumn.

They had cause for considering what hold they had upon the existing Parliament, and for reckoning upon the amount of support on which they could rely, for noting the favours which members had already received from Government, and the return that they had made for them. Such a list would enable the Lord-Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary to gauge their position, and would be a guide in dispensing future favours. The preparation of this list would naturally fall to Blaquiere, and the result of his political stock-taking is given in the following document. That, in spite of more than one notice of his own performances such as no man of ordinary modesty could write,2 it is his composition seems proved by one of the passages in which the first person singular occurs, the note on Richard Fitzgerald: the matter to which this passage refers was of so peculiarly delicate a character, that the letter mentioned there would not have been in the keeping of any one except either the Lord-Lieutenant or the Chief Secretary. Admitting that Blaquiere composed the document, we may see some significance in the absence of any remark after his name, and in the account of his duel with Beauchamp Bagenall. The state of the House of Commons is given as on July 2, 1775; and that we may fairly assume to have been the approximate date of the whole original manuscript.

¹ The numbers of the troops are taken from a return made by the Adjutant-General of the Irish Army to the House of Commons (see Commons' *Journals*, xvii. 96-7).

² Pages 34, 41.

Another somewhat similar list is printed in the 'Harcourt Papers,' x. 287-371, and many of the remarks which there follow the names of members are repeated in our document. But it belongs to an earlier date, recording the state of things at the very beginning of Harcourt's lieutenancy, and is by no means so full or so interesting. That it was not drawn up before December 1773 is proved by its notices of 'the late' Administration. It was certainly not made later than October 12, 1773; for Thomas Monck is given as member for Old Leighlin, and Blaquiere was elected to fill his place, vacant by death, before October 12, for according to an Act of 11 George III., the Speaker issued warrants for new writs during a recess of Parliament in the places of any who died during that period.1 This would give from December 1, 1772, to October 1773 as the possible time for the 'Harcourt Papers' list. But we may perhaps get a nearer date. In the 'Harcourt Papers' list Hugh Massey, member for co. Limerick, is represented as wanting a regiment for his brother. Now his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre Massey, was appointed colonel of the 27th Inniskilling Regiment of Foot on February 19, 1773, and therefore the list must have been drawn up before that date.2 The Appendix of this volume contains what may be described as a sequel to Blaquiere's list, a record of the political success attained through the corrupt means by which the direct influence of the Crown was established over Parliament, the rise of a spirit which threatened to weaken that influence, and the further means taken by Lord Harcourt to preserve and strengthen it. The effects which the royal policy and the method of carrying it out brought upon Ireland lie beyond my limits.

The document which follows occupies about two-thirds, and is the sole contents of an oblong quarto volume, bound in limp red morocco gilt, with gilt edges to the leaves, and a flap originally fastened with a band. The binding is English, or in this case more probably Irish work, for Blaquiere, who in 1775 married an Irish lady, Eleanor,

¹ Commons' Journals, xvi. 9.

² I have to thank Mr. H. Hall, of the Record Office, for kindly pointing this out to me.

daughter of Robert Dobson, of Cork, settled in Ireland, and in 1800 was created Baron de Blaquiere in the Irish peerage. The handwriting is not Blaquiere's, but that of a clerk or professional transcriber, and there can be no doubt that the volume was transcribed for Blaquiere from his original manuscript, which would probably either be left among the muniments of the Castle, or taken away by Lord Harcourt. Four large volumes of Harcourt's correspondence, chiefly transcripts, are in the Public Record Office, two relating to his embassy in France, and the other two to his lieutenancy in Ireland, and they are officially certified as having been Blaquiere's property. It is worth noting that all four are bound in the same red morocco and in the same style as this volume, except that being large and heavy they have solid covers, and the flaps seem to have been fastened with clasps, and perhaps locked. In the list of members in this volume a thin ink-mark is placed over each name, as though a copyist had gone through the list ticking the names off to ensure the completeness of his work. Another evidence of transcription is that the note explaining the significance of the marks appended to certain names in the 'State of the House of Commons' (p. 56) is screwed in cross-wise in a small vacant space in the page before the 'State,' as though it had first been omitted by mistake, and then inserted as near to its proper place as was possible. The marks are for the most part omitted in the list.

The manuscript has been printed as it stands, except that a few contracted words, such as Excellency, have received their obvious expansion: there is no good middle way between expanding a contraction, and representing it in facsimile, which in this case would have entailed an absolutely useless expense. The volume was purchased some years ago of a London bookseller by Mr. Vincent Scully, lately member for co. Tipperary, and on the recommendation of my friend Mr. C. Hagberg Wright, Mr. Scully invited me to edit it.

¹ By the kindness of Mrs. S. C. Lomas, of the Record Office, I have been enabled to compare the writing with that of a private letter of Blaquiere's to William Pitt, undoubtedly written by his own hand, and to profit by her skill in such a matter.

THE MANUSCRIPT

CONCERNING

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT, 1775

IN THE POSSESSION OF

VINCENT SCULLY, ESQUIRE



[The manuscript volume which contains this document has no title, nor has this List of the Members of the Irish House of Commons any heading. The spelling of the manuscript has been preserved.]

Acheson, Sir Archd. COUNTY OF ARMAGH

A Privy Councillor—Recommended for a Peerage—wants an Employment of £200 a year for his Son in Law—a Steady Friend to Government, & a most respectable man—Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation a Distributor of Stamps.

Adderly, Thomas. BOROUGH OF BANDON

Connected with Lord Shannon—was a Commissioner of the Barrack Board—exchanged in November 1772 with Mr. Mitchell, the Treasurer—a good attendant but will find it very difficult to come in again for Bandon.

Agar, James. County of Kilkenny

Commissioner of the Customs—a Trustee of the Linen Board—his brother a Bishop—has two Boroughs—Sold three Seats—ought not to Sell One now that he is provided for—Mr. Geo. Dunbar who is in for his fourth Seat has a Pension of £300, obtained by Lord Townshend—He is nephew to Mr. Ellis—has had many small Favours from Lord Harcourt, particularly, 2 Boatmen—3 Tidewaiters—3 Supernumerary Guagers—4 Hearth Money Collectors—Two Distributors of Stamps—a Supervisor of Hearth Money.

Alexander, James. CITY OF DERRY

Came in upon the Death of the late Provost—a Gentleman of large Property & good Character.

Aldworth, Richard, Junr. B. OF DONERAILE

Lord Shannon's Friend—Nephew to Mr. Sentleger Sentleger who sollicits the Title of Doneraile.

Allan, Thomas. BOROUGH OF KILLYBEGS

Purchased his Seat—was a Commissioner of the Customs—upon re-uniting the Boards, he was removed & pensioned at £600.—formerly Taster of Wines for which he received from Mr. Beresford £800—He had several small Favours from Lord Townshend—bad Health—If he can avoid it he will not again come into Parliament. My Lord Lieutenant has given to his Recommendation 2 Tidewaiters and One Coast Officer's Employment.

Archdall, Mervyn. Co. FERMANAGH

Married to Dawson's Daughter & much connected with Lord Ross—Seeks Popularity in the County—generally against.

Armstrong, John. BOROUGH OF FORE

Purchased his Seat from Lord Westmeath—Is a Lawyer with a large fortune—with Government in general, but much abroad—Lord Townshend gave his Friend Lieutenant Lumm a Company, & recommended Mrs. Thomas Mr. A.'s Sister for a Pension, but did not obtain it.

Aylmer, Sir Fitzgerald. BOROUGH OF OLD LEIGHLIN

Connected with, & constantly follows the Duke of Leinster.

Bagenall, Beauchamp. Co. CARLOW

Lord Townshend obtained a Lieutenant Colonelcy for his Friend Major Pigot—Promised to support—went abroad, & never gave a Vote to Government during Lord Townshend's Administration—In the beginning of Lord Harcourt's He contrived to quarrell with & fight Sir John Blaquiere—Sir John stood One Shot and allowed him to snap his Pistol at him seven Times—Sir John reserved his Fire—Soon after this very generous Proceeding He ask'd the Collection of Drogheda worth £400 for his Friend Townley Dawson—He

did not attend during the last Session—It is said He does not stand for the County or come into Parliament at the next General Election.

Balfour, B. Townley. B. OF CARLINGFORD

Lord Townshend gave his friend a Deanery worth £200—during his Lordship's Administration Independent and with Government when he wanted a point—and when he had nothing to ask with Lord Tyrone—To Lord Harcourt's Administration He has been uniformly steady—His Excellency gave to his Nomination the Surveyorship of Queensborough worth £150—to Mr. Moore—and Distributor of Stamps for the County Lowth.

Barry, Barry. Co. CAVAN

Brother to Lord Farnham—Prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas, for life, & Lord Farnham had leave to Sell his Office of Birmingham Tower, £7000. in his Pocket—This Gentleman on being refused to have his Son's Life included in the Prothonotor's Patent, constantly opposed—He was equally an oponent during the last Session to Lord Harcourt's Administration as he had been during the whole of Lord Townshend's.

Barry, Robert. B. OF CHARLEVILLE

Brought in by Lord Shannon—Seneschall of the King's Manours £600.— Commissioner of Appeals £300. and King's Council—Supports from Situation—attach'd to Lord Shannon.

Barry, James. B. OF RATHCORMICK

Brother to Mrs. Sentleger Sentleger—Lord Shannon's Friend—wont be returned at the next General Election—That Borough is now in the possession of Mr. Tonson.

Beauchamp, Lord. Co. ANTRIM

His Brother Henry Constable of Dublin Castle and Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench in Reversion—Privy Counsellor—Lord Harcourt obtained for his brother Robert a Majority of Horse.

Beresford, John. Co. WATERFORD

Brother to Lord Tyrone—Privy Council—Commissioner of the Revenue £1000.—Taster of Wines to him and his Son £1000. more—a Living of £700. to his Brother, and many Employments in the Revenue to his Friends during Lord Townshend's Administration—He is a Man of Business—has been very steady in his Support—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation the following Employments—Six Boatmen—11 Tidewaiters—7 Guagers—1 Coast Officer.

Bernard, Francis. B. OF BANDON

Always lives in England-He has a very large Fortune.

Bingham, Sir Charles. Co. MAYO

Formerly wanted to be of the Privy Council—has always been in Opposition both to Lord Townshend's and during the last Session to Lord Harcourt's Administration—He is in private Life a respectable amiable Man—Independent from Fortune—Has been attentive to Lord Harcourt and is very much attach'd to Sir John Blaquiere—It is probable in the ensuing Session he may Support—His object is a Peerage—he has been very usefull to Sir John in his late Negotiations particularly with Mr. Fox.

Birch, Robt. B. OF BELTURBET

Purchased of Lord Lanesborough, and has also secured a Seat in the New Parliament—Lord Townshend allowed his Brother to resign his place in the Revenue to his Nephew—gave several small Employments to his Friends—He is a sort of Merchant Banker—A Man of bad Character in private Life—His object is to obtain from the Crown a Grant of some Livings which belonged to an Estate he purchased of Lord Kingsland—He supported steadily Lord Townshend's Administration, and he has behaved equally well to Lord Harcourt's—His Excellency has given his Friends the following Employments—One Hearth Money Collection—One Coast Officer.

Blackwood, John. B. OF BANGOR

Usually in Opposition—not to be influenced except by Lord Hertford who made His Father a Baronet—Independent.

Blakeney, John. BOROUGH OF ATHENRY

Lord Townshend obtained Leave for him to sell his Company which he had not purchased, and gave him a Pension of £200.—He now wants an Addition of £200. more.

Theophilus Blakeney. B. OF ATHENRY

He is Brother to John—He had also Leave to Sell his Company which He had not purchased, and Lord Townshend made him a Surveyor-General £500. a year—These Gentlemen have a Family Borough, but at the General Election One of them only will be returned for it, their Nephew, to whom it belongs, being of Age intends being in Parliament himself—Theo. says he has not more than £800. in the World which he will apply towards the Purchase of a Seat, but unless he is assisted by Government He will not be able to accomplish it—In Lord Townshend's Administration they attended constantly—during the last Session they absented themselves on several critical Occasions and twice went to the Country without any communication with Sir John.

Blighe, Thomas. B. OF ATHBOY

Behaved very honourably to Government during Lord Townshend's Administration, particularly in his Support of the Augmentation—His Lordship gave a Deanery to his Brother and an Ensigncy to his Nephew—He did not attend on any material Question during the last Session.

Blunden, Sir John. CITY OF KILKENNY

Made a Baronet in 1766—has some Demand on Government of the nature of Lord Conyngham's—Lord Townshend lost the Vouchers of it—He wants a Pension—Lord Tyrone has some Influence with him—Supported & Opposed alternately—Always, to use his own Expression to Lord North, in the Wrong Box—He did not attend during the last Session.

Bolton, Cornelius. CITY OF WATERFORD

Always in Opposition—Lord Tyrone affects to have some Influence with him—has been latterly attach'd to Mr. Ponsonby—very Independent.

Burrowes, Sir Kildare. Co. KILDARE

Entirely attach'd to the Duke of Leinster.

Bourke, John, senr. BOROUGH OF NAAS

Commissioner of Customs—Lord Townshend obtained the Bishoprick of Fernes for his Son—He made another a Landwaiter, and gave to his recommendation a number of small Employments in the Revenue—He supported steadily—He now wants a Peerage—Lord Harcourt has given to his recommendation—I Boatman—I Tidewaiter—I Guager—I Hearth Money Collection—I Coast Officer—I Land Carriage Officer.

John Bourke, junr. BOROUGH OF NAAS

Son to the Commissioner—He was in Lord Townshend's Administration Surveyor of the Stores worth £400.—his Lordship obtained a Pension of £200. to his Friend Mr. Ormsby, by which means he discharged a Debt of £1,500.—Lord Harcourt made him Receiver-General of the Stamp Office worth £600.—He is a very zealous Friend to Government, but not inattentive to his own Interests—very attach'd to Lord Townshend—a useful Member of Parliament, and has been very zealous and active in support of Lord Harcourt's Administration—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Quay Porter £40.

Broderick, Edward. BOROUGH OF MIDDLETON

Brought in by Lady Middleton—has a Commission in the Guards—sometimes assisted and as often opposed Lord Townshend—seldom attends—not at all during the last Session—Influenced entirely by Lady Middleton.

Butler, Pierce. B. OF KILLYLEAH

Brother to Lord Carrick-has hitherto supported.

Brooke, Sir Arthur. Co. FERMANAGH

Made a Baronet in 1764-Lord Townshend obtained the Privy Council for him, and a Majority of Dragoons for his Brother without Purchase-Brother in Law to Lord Clermont-against Government in his Heart, much connected with the Tyrones & Fortescues, and during Lord Townshend's Administration acted as they did-In the last Session he opposed upon every material Question at the same professing great attachment to Lord Harcourt & living much with him-He obtained by surprise upon His Excellency the office of Distributor of Stamps for this County at the very moment he was opposing the Duty in the House, and then quarrell'd with & maligned Sir John Blaquiere in every company because he told him that he believed that office was engaged to a Friend who supported the measure, and that if the disposal of it had depended upon him, He, Sir Arthur, should not have it - In private Life He is generally esteem'd-In publick very insincere, ungratefull to the Crown, & never to be depended on-For his Conduct last Session He ought to have been struck out of the Council.

Browne, James. BOROUGH OF JAMESTOWN

Son to Lord Altamont—At the Bar—able in Parliament but very ill heard—very steady—entirely devoted to his Brother the Colonel's Interest and contributes much to the Support of his Family—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Boatman.

Browne, Arthur. BOROUGH OF GOWRAN

Second Son to Lord Altamont—Lieutenant Colonel of the 28th by Purchase—Lord Townshend gave his Son a Cornetcy—made one Brother a Surveyor General £500.— allowed the younger Brother to succeed the Surveyor in the Collection of Foxford worth £270.—strongly attach'd to Lord Townshend—a most zealous Friend of Government—Altho' a bad Speaker a most usefull & necessary Member for the Castle & much beloved—He has supported Lord Harcourt with great Steadiness and very ably—His Excellency obtained for him the Constableship of Carrickfergus with a Sallary of

£365.—It is said the Lands belonging to it are worth £200 more—and His Excellency has given to his Recommendation I Boatman—I Guager—I Hearth Money Collector.

Brownlowe, William. COUNTY OF ARMAGH

Privy Counsellor-Independent-very able in Parliament -has great Influence with Mr. T. Knox and Colonel Rossmuch attended to by the House-during Lord Townshend's Administration He thought very favorably of the Duke of Leinster's Politicks and always was in Opposition—He supported Government very handsomely in the Loughswilly Trial before the Council and, altho' not directly & on every Question, in the House of Commons, yet upon allmost every Matter of Importance He gave Lord Harcourt a very effectual Support, and was of the utmost Service in carrying thro' the new Taxes—His Excellency gave to his Nomination first a Living of £120.—He afterwards promoted the same Person to One of £300.—He gave his Friend, Mr. Workman, in exchange for the Collection of Dundalk, an Employment in the Stamps worth near £300.—a Clerkship of £60. to another Friend and the Distributor of Stamps for the County of Downe-& Three Boatmen & One Tide waiter to his Recommendation -a Company to his Son, a Boy, in the 57th-a Favor of very great magnitude.

Burgh, William. BOROUGH OF ATHY

The Duke of Leinster's—a mere Spit Fire—a pert peevish Boy—His Fortune is much involved, and he now lives in England—has commenced Author.

Burton, William. B. OF NEW TOWN LIMAVADY

Nephew and entirely dependant on Lord Conyngham, Lord Townshend gave his Uncle the Linen Board—a Living of £400. to his Friend Dr. Nesbit—Mr. Burton is very able in Parliament, of strict Honor, and never Opposed Lord Townshend but when obliged by express Directions from his Uncle—He has been permitted & supported Lord Harcourt with great zeal & ability—He is Aid de Camp to His Excellency altho out of the Army—and was lately appointed a Commissioner & Comptroller of the Barrack Board worth £600.

His Excellency has given to his Recommendation the following Employments in the Revenue.—One Examiner—2 Tidewaiters—2 Guagers—One Hearth another Hearth Money Collection & Coxwain of a Barge—Supervisor Stamps to Mr. Fisher £70.

Burton, Pierpoint, Co. of CLARE

Brother to William & also Nephew to Lord Conyngham
—Son in Law to Mr. Clements—Lord Townshend obtained
a Pension for his Wife of £600, and a Quartermaster's Commission to his Friend Mr. Finuken—He lives chiefly abroad,
& it is supposed will not be returned for the next Parliament
—My Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation a Coast
Officer's Employment.

Blaquiere, Sir John. BOROUGH OF LEIGHLIN

Privy Counsellor & Chief Secretary.

Brab[a]zon, William. Co. WICKLOW

Mr. Ponsonby's Connection—Brother to Lord Meath—his Father lost his Pension—always against.

Bushe, Gervas Parker. B. OF GRANARD

Lord Townshend made him a Commissioner of Accounts £500.—Once an ingenious Speaker against Government—now he seldom opens his Mouth, and when he does; the recollection of his former Patriotism choaks him—much connected with Mr. Flood & Mr. Langriche—From Situation very Independent—His Conduct during the last Session was at best equivocal, and in one or two Instances hostile to Government.

Butler, John. B. of NEWCASTLE

Uncle to Lord Lanesborough—Clerk of the Pipe for Life £1200. a year—Supported last Session—Lord Harcourt gave his Relation Mr. Harris an Ensigncy.

Burton, William. Co. CARLOW

Nephew to Mr. Ponsonby and entirely in his Interest— Son to the late Commissioner Burton. Campbell, Lord Fred. BOROUGH OF IRISHTOWN
Was Secretary to Lord Townshend—never will attend.

Cane, Hugh. BOROUGH OF TALLAGH

Lieutenant Colonel of the 5. Dragoons—Lord Townshend gave his Friend a sinecure Living of £150.—a steady Friend to Government—He wants to sell his Lieutenant Colonelcy and to get a civil Employment—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation 1 Examiner—1 Tide waiter & 1 Guager.

Cavendish, James. B. of LIFFORD

Lord Erne's. Son to Sir Henry—Collector of Dundalk £200.

Carew, Robert. BOROUGH OF DUNGARVAN

Has been constantly in Opposition—much connected with Mr. Ponsonby—a little with Lord Shannon—Lord Tyrone may perhaps have some Influence with him.

Shapland Carew. CITY OF WATERFORD Father to Robert—always in Opposition.

Carleton, Hugh. BOROUGH OF TUAM

Brought into Parliament by Lord Townshend-King's Council-Son to Mr. Carleton of Corke-an able sensible Man-of strict Honor-much respected by Mr. Waite-There is a Shyness between him and the Provost from his Family Influence in Corke-Married to Major Mercer's Daughter-a tolerable Speaker-much esteemed by the Chancellor as a good Lawyer and a man of great Integrity and Application-He supported last Session steadily & ably —He is to have a civil Employment of not less than £400. for himself, or for a Time will be satisfied if Serjeant Hamilton is made a Judge, to be made second or third Serjeant-His Object is the Bench—On the late failure of his Father at Corke Lord Harcourt gave his Brother Francis the Collection of Athlone worth £300.—and appointed the Father Agent for conducting the Embarcation of the Eight Regiments lately sent to America.-He has given to his Recommendation Two Boatmen.

Carey, Edward. Co. of Londonderry

Privy Counsellor—Brother in Law to Lord Tyrone—in general with Government—on popular questions against—very Independent—sollicitous not to be thought biassed by Lord Tyrone's Family—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—a Scale Porter—I Supernumerary Guager—2 Hearth Money Collections.

Conolly, Thomas. Co. LONDONDERRY

Privy Counsellor-Lord Townshend gave his Friend the Deanery of Cloger, Dr. Woodward, & a Living, both worth £1,400. a year, of which the Deanery is at least £800.— He also gave several Employments to others in the Revenue -made his Brother in Law, Mr. Staples, a Commissioner, £1,000.—gave him two Ouartermasters' Commissions—two Barrackmasters' Employments—gave a Deanery and Preferment to Dr. Marley worth £850.—Lord Harcourt gave £65. a year to his recommendation for George Gavan-His chief merit with Lord Townshend was his Support of the Augmentation, otherwise, altho respectable from his Property, He is so capricious & unsteady, that there is very little dependence to be had on him, and in my own opinion it would be better for Government that He was a declared Oponent of its Measures -He ought for his Behaviour last Session to have been turned out of the Council-he has quarrell'd with Lord Harcourt because His Excellency refused him the exclusive Nomination to all Revenue Employments in the Counties of Derry & Donegal, & rejected his Proposal for seperating the See of Ardagh from that of Tuam in order to bring his Friend Dr. Woodward on the Bench-And he has also quarrell'd with Sir John Blaquiere merely on the presumption that he advised His Excellency against granting either of these Propositions-he has given to his Recommendation One Supernumerary Guager—Coast Office, Wicklow, £65.

Cavendish, Sir Henry. BOROUGH OF LISMORE

Teller of the Exchequer, a Baronet in 1755.—made a Privy Counsellor by Lord Townshend, and gave him a Hearth Money Collection for Mr. Watts—He was very steady in his Support of Lord Townshend—He has been equally attentive to Lord Harcourt—He is a respectable amiable Man—much afflicted with the gout, & on that account his attendance is very uncertain—His great Object is to get his Son James joined with him in the Office of Teller of the Exchequer—He purchased a Seat for Son in the last Session—Lord Harcourt gave him the Collection of Dundalk worth £200.—and made Watts, the Hearth Money Collector, a Supervisor £65. also gave to Lady Cavendish a Supernumerary Guager—and Mate of the Cruizing Barge, Kinsale.

Caulfield, Francis. B. OF CHARLEMONT

His Brother made a Earl in 1763—They both constantly opposed Lord Townshend—Towards the middle of last Session, Mr. Caulfield shewed some Disposition to support Government—He is very poor and greatly embarrass'd in his Circumstances.

Caulfield, William. B. of TULSK

Collector of Donaghadee, worth £200.—Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber—a steady and certain vote for Government upon all occasions—Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection—since dismiss'd, and ought to have been hang'd.

Chichester, John. CITY OF CARRICKFERGUS

Brother to Lord Donegall-never has attended.

Chapman, Benjamin. BOROUGH OF FORE

Came into Parliament last Session—a Lawyer—does not want ability—very violent in opposition, Speaks very often, and is pretty well heard—He is Nephew to Mr. Clements, but in his politicks totally unconnected with him.

Clement, William. CITY OF DUBLIN

Vice Provost of the College, always against and an oponent of the Provost.

Clements, Robert. BOROUGH OF CARRICK

Trustee of the Linen Board—was a Commissioner of the Revenue but removed on the reuniting of the Boards—He refused his Pension of £600., and affected to be offended because there had not been an earlier communication with him upon that measure—He is a peevish, Shy, retired Man, a bad attender, and the Father pretends on some occasions that he cannot influence him. Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation 2 Boatmen—I Tide waiter, and One Coast Officer.

Theo. Clements. BOROUGH OF CAVAN

Second Son to Mr. Clements—Agent to the Regiments paid by Ireland serving abroad, worth £800. a year—He wants to be joined with his Father as Deputy Vice Treasurer—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation Two Tidewaiters & 3 Supernumerary Guagers.

Clements, Nathaniel. Co. LEITRIM

Privy Counsellor—Deputy Vice Treasurer—Ranger of the Phœnix Park—Searcher of Dublin—Paymaster of the Pensions—Lord Townshend gave him many small Employments in the Revenue—He attends and Supports constantly—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation I Boatman—3 Tidewaiters—I Hearth Money Collection—Distributor Stamps, Co. Leitrim.

Coddington, Dixie. BOROUGH OF DUNLEER

Nephew to Judge Tennison—much connected with Mr. Ponsonby—constantly Opposed Lord Townshend—During the last Session He was as mark'd in his Support of Lord Harcourt—He is independent of Mr. Ponsonby.

Colclough, Vesey. Co. OF WEXFORD

Much connected with Lord Ely, but always in Opposition.

Coghlan, Thomas. BOROUGH OF BANAGHER

Trustee of the Linen Board—has been very steady & zealous in his Support—Lord Harcourt made him Store-keeper of the Ordnance, and gave to his Recommendation 5 Supernumerary Guagers, & Distributor of Stamps, King's County.

Colthurst, Sir John. BOROUGH OF CASTLEMARTYR A Baronet in 1744. Lord Shannon's Friend.

Conway, Robert. BOROUGH OF LISBURNE

Lord Townshend obtained Leave for him to purchase a Troop over the Lieutenants in the Regiment—and to Lord Harcourt's Recommendation He owes a Majority of Horse without Purchase. Second Son to Lord Hertford—attended pretty constantly last Session.

Cooper, Joshua. Co. SLIGO

Independant Gent. of considerable Fortune—connected in the County Interests with Owen Wynne—He almost constantly Opposed Lord Townshend—great part of last Session and towards the close of it He supported Lord Harcourt, & without any Terms.

Coote, Guy Moore. BOROUGH OF CLONMELL

He had a Pension of £200.—Lord Townshend obtained for him £200. more—still wants an addition—must Support from Situation—His Daughter is married to Mr. Cavendish.

Coppinger, Maurice. B. OF ARDFERT

King's Council & second Serjeant at Law—connected with Lord Crosbie, Sir Henry Cavendish, and Mr. Mason—a very moderate Speaker—seldom takes in [sic any?] part in Debate.

Crosbie, Launcelot. BOROUGH OF ARDFERT

Brought into Parliament by Lord Crosbie—has Supported steadily.

Corry, Armor Lowry. Co. TYRONE

North Country Gentleman — seeks Popularity — very Independent—always against.

Cotter, Sir James. B. OF TAGHMON

His Father made a Baronet in 1763—Hitherto in Opposition but not likely to continue—a sensible young man of very independent Property—He made one tolerable Speech—did not attend last Session.

Cramer, John. B. OF BELTURBET

Returned by, and acts with his Relation Lord Lanesborough.

Creighton, Abraham. BOROUGH OF LIFFORD

Lieutenant on half Pay—Brother to Lord Erne—He opposed constantly last Session, and was generally against during Lord Townshend's Administration.

Crofton, Sir Marcus. B. OF RATOATH

Made a Baronet in 1758—wants to have his Son made an Aid de Camp—a very wavering Man and against Government when he can't advantage himself by supporting it—He did not attend last Session.

Croker, John. BOROUGH OF FETHARD

Lord Townshend gave his Son an Ensigncy—He is much connected with Sir Henry Cavendish—very unsteady in his Support—never to be depended on.

Cuffe, James. Co. MAYO

Made a Commissioner of Barracks by Lord Townshend £400—attends pretty constantly—Cousin to Lord Arran—Mr. Connolly & Lord Annaly have great influence with him—He is not less perplex'd and embarrass'd in his Circumstances than he is by his Wife and Miss Weiwitzer.

Cunninghame, Robert. B. OF MONAGHAN

Colonel of the 50th Regiment—Governor of Kinsale, £400—a Quarter Master's Commission to his Friend—Brother in Law to Lord Clermont—He voted against the Division of the Boards, and on other critical Questions in Lord Townshend's Administration voted & spoke against Government—affects Independance & great Consequence in Parliament. His Conduct in the Duke of Bedford's Administration was very severely censured by that Nobleman in his Correspondence with the then Secretary of State as a most

ungratefull Man to the Crown—In the last Session he deserted & betrayed Lord Harcourt upon the great point, the reconsideration of the Absentee Tax, altho he had been particularly & confidentially spoken to not only by Sir John Blaquiere & Mr. Lees, but even by His Excellency in person—His Support of Government upon that occasion was consider'd as certain—He spoke violently against the Castle—His Expression of Wheeling Cock will not easily be forgot—His Conduct upon that occasion was so mark'd, unprovok'd, & violent that He ought to have been instantly dismissed from his Regiment and Government. Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation the Coast Officer of Wicklow for Mr. Archer—and the Purchase of a Company to his Friend Lieutenant Murray out of his Regiment at the Reg[ulated (?)] Price.

Curry, Edward. BOROUGH OF NEWRY

A New Member and in Opposition.

Daly, Dennis. Co. GALWAY

Nephew to Mr. Malone & Lord Ross—Independent and a very rising young Man in Parliament—has been generally in Opposition—Mr. Malone affects but has very little Influence with him—He is much attach'd to Sir John Blaquiere.

Daly, Anthony. Borough of Galway

Acts with Dennis Daly.

Damer, John. BOROUGH OF SWORDS

Formerly Commissioner of Appeals—Nephew to Lord Milton—Steady in his Support—In the last Session from the Ommissions and Alterations made on the other side the Water in the Money Bill it was judged necessary, and Government acquiesced in having it rejected on its return hither, at the same time His Excellency not chusing that it should be thrown out *nem. con.*, Mr. Damer voluntarily gave his Negative, for which Service he has been removed from the Appeals to the Board of Accounts—He is a very amiable worthy Man, greatly respected & lives much with the Attorney General.

Dawson, John. QUEEN'S COUNTY

Eldest Son to Lord Dawson who was made a Peer by Lord Townshend—generally steady—his Father has ask'd a Civil Employment for his second Son whom he has brought into Parliament in the room of the late Sir T. Butler.

Deane, Sir Robert. B. OF CARIESFORT

Connected & acts with Lord Shannon—His object is a Peerage.

Deane, Joseph. Co. Dublin

Attach'd to Popularity, and somewhat to Mr. Ponsonby. Lord Tyrone has some little Influence with him—has been constantly in Opposition.

Deane, Jocelyn. B. OF BALTIMORE

Col. Tonson's. Attach'd very much to his Brother Sir Robert, and both follow Lord Shannon.

Dennis, James. B. of Youghall

Prime Serjeant—an ungracefull but tolerable Speaker in Parliament—a good Lawyer—has great Property—a Man of excellent Character—devoted to & beloved by Lord Shannon—His object is the Seat of Chief Baron of the Exchequer—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation two Hearth Money Collections.

Denny, Barry. Co. KERRY

Lord Townshend gave his youngest Brother a Living of £800 a year—Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation the office of Coast Supervisor of Kerry—He attended very little last Session—His brother Edward who represented Trallee shot himself a few Months ago—He has a large Estate but dreadfully incumber'd, and in private Life of an exceeding bad Character—It is uncertain whether he will be returned for the next Parliament.

Devonshire, James. B. RATHCORMICK

Connected with Lord Shannon-wont come in again for this Borough, and probably will not be in the next

Parliament—Mr. Tonson has purchased the Estate to which this Borough belongs.

Digby, Simon. B. OF KILDARE Entirely the Duke of Leinster's.

Dobbs, Conway Richard. CARRICKFERGUS

Connected with Lord Hertford—Son to the late Governor of North Carolina—seldom Supports.

Dillon, John. B. of WICKLOW

Lord Townshend at his Request gave a Living of £300 to his Friend Mr. Preston—Independent—generally supports—Preston is married to a Sister of Jack Hamilton's—Mr. Dillon is much attach'd to Sir John Blaquiere—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—I Supernumerary Guager—I Quay Porter, and One Land Carriage Officer.

Dunbar, Geo. B. OF THOMASTOWN

Lord Townshend obtained for him a Pension of £200. a year—brought in by Mr. Agar—formerly married to Mr. Ellis's Sister & Mr. Agar's Mother — a steady little Man and a dead Voice on all occasions.

Dunbar, Chas. B. OF BLESSINGTON

Lord Townshend gave a Living of £300. to his Friend—very Independent—seldom attends. Connected with Lord Hillsborough — Lord Harcourt gave at his Request an Ensigncy.

Dunluce, Lord. Co. ANTRIM

His Father Governor of the County—Lord Townshend gave his Tutor, Mr. Winder, the Excise Collection of Corke, worth £300., and afterwards opposed violently—an idle unsteady young Man—not to be depended upon. Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation a Supernumerary Guager.

Dawson, Joseph. B. of PORTARLINGTON

Son to Lord Dawson & Supported Steadily.

Earbery, Mathias. B. of Lanesborough

Made Collector of Wicklow by Lord Townshend. Connected with the Provost—purchased his Seat—has supported Steadily—It is imagined He will not be in the next Parliamet—He sollicits, and the Provost is very earnest that he should obtain, the Contract for the Light Houses to be established on the Coast of Wicklow.

Falkiner, Rigs. B. OF CLONIKELTY

Lord Shannon returns him-a Banker in Corke.

Fetherston, Ralph. B. of St. Johnstown

Was made a Surveyor General by Lord Townshend—reduced upon the re-uniting of the Boards—has a Pension, in lieu, of £300.—has ask'd to be made a Baronet which my Lord Lieutenant has promised to recommend—His Excellency gave to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Fitzgerald, Maurice. B. DINGLE ICOUCH

Made a Surveyor General by Lord Townshend—reduced upon re-uniting the Boards—received a Pension, in lieu, of £300.—has two Seats in Parliament—weak, entirely under the Government of his wife—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation one Tidewaiter.

Fitzgerald, Robert. B. DINGLE ICOUCH

Brought into Parliament by his Cousin Maurice—Judge of the Admiralty £400.—Commissioner of Appeals £300.—Comptroller of Dingle with an additional Salary of £400.—Lord Townshend gave him a Living of £500. for one Nephew—£200. to another—Ensigncy to a third—and He recommended an additional Sallary to him as Commissioner of Appeals of £300.—Lord Harcourt has given him a Hearth Money Collection for One Friend, accommodated him with a Move for another—gave him a Seat at the Linen Board—He speaks very seldom in the House, when he does but very moderately—his chief Merit is that he attends when he is desired—He now wants additional Emolument either by additional Salary

to the Offices he now holds or by new Creation, whether by Place or Pension it mattereth not—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation 3 Tidewaiters—2 Guagers and One Hearth Money Collection.

Fitzgerald, Gerald. B. OF HARRISTON

Entirely devoted to the Duke of Leinster. Dead.

Fitzgerald, Richard. B. OF BOYLE

Has a Pension of £200.—wants to be of the Privy Council—was formerly a Gentleman Usher and married a Rich Widow whose daughter is now married to Lord Kington's Eldest Son—Lord Townshend promised and actually obtained the King's Letter, which is now in my Custody for appointing him of the Council, but his Character was found so exceptionable, and he himself so very proud & impracticable, his Lordship withheld it — These last two Sessions he opposed.

Fitzgibbon, John. B. OF JAMESTOWN

A Lawyer of great Eminence—generally in Opposition and yet will ask great Favours at the most critical Time—Connected with Lord Tyrone on particular Occasions, and for himself thro' the Session at large—One Daughter married to Lord Tyrone's Brother the Clergyman, the other to Mr. Jeffereyes.—It is believed he will not be in the next Parliament.

Forde, Mathew. B. OF DOWNPATRICK

Independant Country Gentleman of the North—unconnected and always in Opposition.

Flood, Henry. B. OF CALLEN

Formerly the Engineer & Mouthpiece of Opposition— Impracticable in his Conduct in Parliament where he does not entirely lead—in private Life held in Abhorrence & Detestation by All Men of Integrity & Truth—When Lord Harcourt arrived he affected Candour & promised Support— Upon some important Questions during the last Session he supported, upon others equally material to Government he kept away-In consequence of this Conduct an Expectation of some very considerable Employment was held out to him. It amounted to what he consider'd a Promise of the first that became vacant—Upon the death of the late Provost the Office of Alnager worth £900. and an Additional Sallary to it of £1,000, was offered—which He refused, declaring that Government had broken faith with him by the disposal of the Provost, and resorted to his original Request, the Office of One of the Vice Treasurers or nothing—Sir John Blaquiere has been solliciting this Employment for him these twelve Months past-Lord Harcourt early in the last Session offer'd him a Cornetcy for a Friend which he declined—He gave to his Recommendation One Hearth Money Collection-The Distributor of Stamps for the County of Kilkenny-Supervisor of Hearth Money £60.

Flood, John, junr. B. OF CALLEN

Cousin to Henry and Acts entirely with him.

Flood, Warden. B. OF LONGFORD

A Follower of Mr. Henry Flood's, and with as much Violence but less Parts—his object is to be Counsellor to the Commissioners of the Revenue.

Fortescue, James. Co. LOWTH

Trustee of the Linen Board—Privy Counsellor—wants to be in remainder to his Brother Lord Clermont's Peerage—a miserable Speaker—does not want Understanding—Independant, the greatest Jobber in Ireland—during the last Session He opposed upon some very critical Questions, for which he ought to have been dismiss'd the Council—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—2 Boatmen—I Tidewaiter—I Supernumerary Guager—2 Coast Officers.

Fortescue, Thomas. B. OF TRIM

Cousin to Lord Clermont—Nephew to Lord Mornington by whom he is brought into Parliament—Opposed Lord Townshend—he supported Lord Harcourt.

Foster, John. Co. LOWTH

Eldest Son to the Chief Barron—a very rising young Man in the Law and in Parliament—Is very often with Government, but being Member for a County, sometimes tho' very seldom quits it on popular Questions—Lord Townshend gave a Living of £400. to his Brother—made his Relation Mr. Sibthorpe Judge of Kilmainham, and gave a Living of £200. to his Friend, Dr. Norris.

Fownes, Sir William. B. OF KNOCKTOPHER

Searcher of Corke £1,000. a year for Life—of large Property and independent but connected with and entirely devoted to Mr. Ponsonby—during the last Session He did not attend Parliament.

Freake, Sir John. B. OF BALTIMORE

Made a Baronet by Lord Townshend and ask'd two other Favours—seldom attended—Brother in Law to Lord Arran—When he did attend last Session He opposed—a very silly uncertain Character and never to be depended on.

French, Robert. B. OF GALWAY

Made a Trustee of the Linen Board by Lord Townshend—an able & much respected Member of Parliament—Independent—Moderate, and deserves particular Notice.

French, John. Co. of Roscommon

Lord Townshend gave a Deanery to his Uncle and an Ensigncy to his Nephew—Connected with Lord Annaly and Lord Kingston—was not very steady to Lord Townshend—To Lord Harcourt he has been very zealous—His Excellency has given to his Recommendation 1 Tidewaiter—One Supernumerary Guager, & 3 Hearth Money Collections.

Gardiner, Luke. Co. DUBLIN

A Gentleman of large Property—profess'd great Attachment to Government, but voted against the Castle upon every material Question last Session—His objects are the Peerage of Lovejoy [sic] & a Seat in the Council—Lord

Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Lieutenancy to his Brother Robert without Purchase.

Gamble, William. B. BALLYSHANNON

Cousin to the late Provost—Lord Townshend made him a Commissioner of the Barrack Board £400.—And obtained the Agency to the Archbishop of Dublin for his Son—Lord Harcourt has given to his recommendation I Supernumerary Guager—I Hearth Money Collection—Clerk in the Customhouse £60., and his youngest Son is Collector of Killybegs worth £200.

Gisborne, James. B. OF LISMORE

A Regiment of Foot—Governor of Charlemont worth £800.—and a Major General on the Staff—An able Speaker on Parade days, but very infirm & seldom attends.

Gore, Richard. B. OF DONEGALL

Made a Commissioner of the Revenue by Lord Townshend and for his very equivocal Conduct was turned out—Brother to Lord Sudley—Opposed the Division of the Boards—a contemptible weak man—He seldom attended last Session—when he did attend He opposed.

Gore, William. Co. of LEITRIM

Lord Townshend gave a Place of £100. to his Friend—Like the other Gores who are in Parliament, very uncertain—Lord Harcourt soon after his arrival gave a Hearth Money Collection to his Recommendation—He opposed during the last Session.

Gore, Henry. Co. LONGFORD

Examinator of the Customs worth £900. a year—Brother to Lord Annaly—Ill health—peevish, and uncertain in his Support—during the last Session He did not attend. Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation 2 Supernumerary Guagers.

Gorges, Richard. B. OF ENNISKILLEN

Son to Ham. Gorge[s] and Cousin to Lord Tyrone—a very good Speaker when prepared—Apt to be out of Humour—

lately married to a Miss Meredyth, whose Name he has now taken, with a considerable Fortune.

Graydon, Robert. B. OF HARRISTOWN

Devoted to the Duke of Leinster-makes long Speechesvery ill heard.

Grogan, Cornelius. B. OF ENNISCORTHY

Always against—Lord Ely and Mr. Vesey Colclough are supposed to have some Influence with him.

Hall, Roger. Co. DOWNE

Father in Law to Mr. Brownlowe—Cousin to the Duke of Leinster & to Lord Hillsborough—moderate Property—has always been in Opposition.

Hamilton, George. B. OF BELFAST

£200. a year for his Light House at Bellbriggan [sic]—brought into Parliament by Lord Donegal—turned over by his Lordship to Mr. Ponsonby's Party, with whom he drew during Lord Townshend's Administration—Made his Peace with Lord Harcourt, whom he has supported very steadily & zealously—His Excellency made him 3rd Serjeant, and has given him an Expectation of a Seat on the Bench—A Sensible Man—a good Lawyer, and of good Character, but a very tedious disagreeable Speaker and ill heard in the House—He is a King's Council.

Hamilton, Henry. BOROUGH OF KILLYBEGS

Recommended by Lord Townshend for a Baronetcy—ask'd it after all was over—This Rank has been obtained for him by Lord Harcourt—He has supported both Administrations very steadily and may be thoroughly depended on for what he says—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection to his Agent.

Hamilton, John. B. OF STRABANE

Returned by Lord Abercorn, but will not come in again—has been always against.

Hamilton, Claudius. B. OF STRABANE

Always against—Spoke once in a drunken dream—Lord Harcourt gave a Supernumerary Guager to his Friend.

Handcock, William. B. OF ATHLONE

Collector of Trim £300.—Connected with Mr. Ponsonby but supports Government to save himself—Lord Harcourt gave a Supernumerary Guager to his Recommendation.

Hatch, John. B. of Swords

Had leave by Lord Townshend at the Request of the late Provost & Mr. Ponsonby to sell his Employment of Secretary to the Revenue—Lord Palmerston is his particular Friend—Connected with Mr. Ponsonby—Mr. Mason & Mr. Damer have considerable Influence with him, but not so far as to make him either gratefull to the Crown or to support its measures.

Hellen, Robert. B. OF BANNAU [BANNOW]

His Wife has a Pension of £100.—Council to the Excise worth £1,000.—brought in by Lord Ely and entirely attach'd to him—a sensible man, and when prepared on State Days, speaks well—Lord Harcourt gave his Friend Mr. Daniel a Clerk's place in the Stamp Office £60. a year.

Henry, Joseph. B. OF KILDARE

Entirely the Duke of Leinster's.

Hill, Hugh. LONDONDERRY

Collector of Derry £500 a year—related to Lord Tyrone—supports from Situation—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation Three Boatmen—Two Tidewaiters—another Tidewaiter—and a Quay Tidewaiter—a Hearth Money Collection and a Coast Officer.

Hoare, Edward. B. OF CARLOW

A Lawyer, Son to Joseph Hoare of Askeyton—brought in by Mr. William Burton, Mr. Ponsonby's Nephew, with whom He is entirely connected—Lord Townshend gave his Son Leave to purchase a Troop.

Hoare, Joseph. B. OF ASKEYTON

Father of Edward—Weigh-master of Corke, given by the Commissioners of the Revenue under an Act of Parliament, for Life worth £800 a year.

Hyde, John. Co. CORKE

Married to a Niece of Mr. Ponsonby's—attach'd to & goes with Lord Shannon.

Holmes, Peter. B. OF BANAGHER

Connected by Marriage with Sir Henry Cavendish and Mr. Prittee—of good Fortune—has half the Borough of Banagher—Supported Government well—a very sensible Man—fit for office and one of the first Lord Townshend would have provided for—He has been equally zealous in support of Lord Harcourt—His Excellency made him Comptroller of the Stamp Office, and has given to his Recommendation Clerk in the Stamp Office—a Distributor of Stamps to his Friend Mr. L'Estrange, and His Excellency and Sir John Blaquiere made that Gentleman a Present of One hundred Guineas each—His Excellency gave him Two hundred Guineas.

Hutchinson, John Heley. CITY OF CORKE

Prime Serjeant £1,200.—Privy Counsellor—Alnager £900.—additional Salary £1,000.—Reversion Secretary of State £1,800.—Reversion to his Son of 2nd Remembrancer £800.—His Brother in Law Comptroller of the Board of Works £300.—Another Brother in Law, Duquery [Duqueruy], a Pension of £200. and Surveyor on the Quay of Dublin £500. by Lord Townshend—also Two Ensigncies and many small Favours in the Revenue for his Friends at Corke—a Deanery to his Sons' Tutor, Mr. Bond, and a Recommendation of him to the Bishop of Ferns for a Living of not less than £300—His Wife recommended by Lord Townshend for a Peerage—He opposed Lord Townshend—afterwards made his Bargain and supported ably and zealously, holding however Sir George Macartney in Fetters, and at Times taking advantage of the necessity of the moment to carry his Point—

During the last Session he behaved handsomely and Steadily, Sir John Blaquiere taking the principal Lead himself and holding a very tight Rein over this Gentleman-Onthe late Provost's Death, He was appointed Provost-Resigned the Prime Searjentcy and the Alnage, but in lieu of the additional Sallary of £1,000, tack'd to that office, He obtained the office of Customer of Strangford with an additional Sallary of £1,000. to him and three of his Sons-Lord Harcourt has also given One of them a Cornetcy-To his Friend Dr. Foresyth the Living of Kilcock worth £300.—At his Request Allowed the Clerk of the Permits at Corke to resign his Employment to a Friend worth £150.—and has given a number of small Employments in the Revenue to his Recommendation-He is still dissatisfied and ever will untill He engrosses the Station of Primate, Chancellor, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Provost etc. etc. in his own Person-He has named to Three Guagers-Three Tidewaiters—a Hearth Money Collection—Clerk of the Iron Yard, Corke-his Clerk is Hearth Money Collector-his Butler a walking officer-Mr. Waller his Brother in Law Solicitor of the Stamp Office £200.—He named the Distributor of Stamps, Co. Tipperary, and on his Recommendation & request His Excellency translated the Bishop of Elphin to the Archbishoprick of Tuam £4,200. a year.

Howard, Hugh. Borough of Johnstown

Brother to the Member for the County of Wicklow and acts with him.

Howard, Ralph. Co. WICKLOW

Privy Counsellor—Recommended by Lord Townshend for a Peerage—Steady to Government—has a large Property—He and his Brother Support very handsomely.

Hull, William, now Tonson. B. OF TUAM

Lieutenant Governor of Corke—an unsteady turbulent character—not to be secured by any office, his Father having lately died & left him £12,000 a year—Opposes Lord Shannon in the County of Corke & everywhere else—much connected with Mr. Jeffereyes—He has lately purchased the

Rathcormick Estate & Borough, and it is imagined will throw out Mr. Devonshire and return both Members—During the last Session he seldom attended.

Hussey, Walter. Borough of Athy

A Lawyer in great Estimation—a very able ingenius [sic] Speaker in Parliament—amiable in private Life and universally beloved—He is returned by, and has hitherto conducted the Duke of Leinster's Squadron—He is now shaking off those Fetters and is a Candidate for the College.

Jackson, Richard. B. OF COLERAINE

Clerk of the Paper Office worth £300—an additional Sallary obtained by Lord Townshend of £300 more—He was Ulster Secretary to his Lordship, Lord Bristol and Lord Hertford—desired to quit that office on Lord Harcourt's appointment, proposing at the same time to be of the Privy Council—a sensible man and of very strict Integrity—never speaks in the House—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Hearth Money Collection.

Jones, Theo. BOROUGH OF COLERAINE

Privy Council—Collector of Dublin £900—married a Sister of Lady Clermont's—is Candidate for the County of Leitrim—a Steady Friend & a very amiable man—He wants an additional Sallary to his office—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation Three Boatmen—I Tidewaiter—2 Supernumerary Guagers—I Hearth Money Collection—permitted his Son a very young Ensign to purchase a Lieutenancy in the 63rd Regiment.

Jeffereyes, St. John. BOROUGH OF MIDDLETON

Was Lieutenant Governor of Corke, on resigning which made by Lord Townshend a Commissioner of Accounts—a Trustee of the Linen Board—a fluctuating little Gentleman, held steady & in awe only by his appointments—married to a Daughter of Counsellor Fitzgibbon's—much connected with Mr. Tonson—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Jephson, Denham, senr. BOROUGH OF MALLOW

They go entirely with Lord Shannon—This Borough belongs to them—William Son to the Senr. was formerly in Parliament but obtaining a Pension of £150 did not come in at the last General Election—Lord Harcourt has obtained a Pension of £600. for the Father.

Johnston, Arthur. BOROUGH OF KILLYLEAGH

Devoted to Mr. Ponsonby's Fortunes.

Jones, Richard. B. OF LIMAVADY

Returned by Lord Conyngham — acts with Colonel Burton.

Irwine, William. B. OF RATOATH

Married to Mr. Lowther's Daughter-has been always against.

Jephson, Robert. BOROUGH OF JOHNSTOWN

Brought into Parliament by Lord Harcourt—a Pension of £300. to his wife—on Captain's half Pay and Master of the Horse to His Excellency—Author of 'Braganza'—Can speak well when prepared. But unfortunately, hitherto, altho' not designedly his Talents have been exerted to Points where either Government wish'd to take no part, or where an Injury was received from his Ability or rather Ingenuity.

Kearney, James. Borough of Kingsale

Returned chiefly thro' the Interest of Mr. Southwell of Kings Weston—his Father has a large Fortune—connected with and follows Lord Shannon.

King, Henry. B. OF BOYLE

Privy Counsellor—Brother to Lord Kingston and much influenced by him—He supported Lord Townshend with less zeal than inclination, for he wishes well to Government. In the last Session his Brother being in good humour with the Castle, he was very steady—Lord Harcourt has given an Ensigncy to his Recommendation and appointed him of the Linen Board.

Kirwan, Edward. B. OF CASTLEBAR

A very strange man—purchased his Seat—Lord Altamont and Sir Charles Bingham are somewhat connected with him—He has a Brother in the 5th Dragoons—has been in constant Opposition.

Knox, John. B. OF CASTLEBAR

Married to Lord Kingston's Sister—Independent and of great Fortune—always in Opposition—Dead.

Knox, John. B. OF DUNGANNON

Obliged to support from his Employment of Collector of Dublin Excise worth £700., without it not to be trusted—He wants to Sell, or to have a place of less Responsibility & trouble—will not be brought in by his Brother at the General Election. Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation I Tidewaiter—One Supernumerary Guager—I Coast Officer.

Knox, Thomas. B. OF DUNGANNON

Brother to the Collector—a Gentleman of great Property—much connected with Mr. Brownlowe and acts in the House with him, which he did uniformly during the last Session—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Supernumerary Guager & appointed Mr. Tisdall, Surveyor [of] Ringsend, Land Waiter on the Quay of Dublin, £300. a year.

Lambert, Gustavus. B. OF KILBEGAN

Had leave prior to Lord Townshend's Administration to sell his Collection of Trim—his Lordship obtained a Pension of £500. to his Brother the General—a steady honorable man.

Lambert, Charles. B. OF KILBEGAN

Son to Gustavus—succeeded Sir Ed. New[en]ham as Collector of the County of Dublin Excise worth £700.—always with Government—married a Daughter of Mr. Dutton's of Sherborne.

Latouche, David, junr. Bor. of Longford

Trustee of the Linen Board—One of the most considerable Bankers in Dublin — unconnected — frequently with Government.

Le Hunte, Richard. WEXFORD

Constantly acts with Mr. Ponsonby.

Langriche (sic), Hercules. B. OF KNOCKTOPHER

Lord Townshend left him Commissioner & Supervisor of the Barrack Board £600.—From Situation with Government, attach'd to and in his Heart with Mr. Ponsonby, but will act up to his Professions—a sensible man & an able Speaker—Lord Harcourt has promoted him to the Revenue Board—during the last Session He declaim'd against Lord Townshend—Sir John Blaquiere made him eat his words in a set Speech and he behaved very well afterwards.

Leigh, Francis. DROGHEDA

The Attorney General—Chief Baron and Blayney Balfour are his particular Friends—supports handsomely—Lord Townshend gave a Living of £500. to his Relation, and Lord Harcourt has given One Boatman.

Leigh, Robert. N[EW] Ross

Much connected with Lord Miltown & Lord Meath's Families—very much with Lord Ely—moderate in Opposition—a candid fair man.

Leslie, Charles Powell. B. OF HILLSBOROUGH

Lord Hillsborough's Cousin — an uncommonly steady Friend to Government—has ask'd nothing—attends constantly.

Levinge, Sir Richard. B. OF DULEEK

Purchased his Seat—Brother in Law to Colonel Marlay, who with the Dean have considerable Influence with him—He has been always against Government.

Lowther, Gorges. Co. MEATH Lowther, George. B. OF ATHERDEE

Father and Son—have been always against Government—have profess'd Attachment to Lord Harcourt—much connected with Mr. Robert Rochfort—His Excellency gave a Tidewaiter to his Recommendation.

Loftus, Henry. B. of CLOMINES

Lord Ely's—a Commissioner of Accounts £500.—Lord Townshend gave a Cornetcy to One Son—The Eldest an Aid de Camp to Lord Harcourt—The Father a sensible steady manly Character.

Loftus, Arthur. B. of Fethard

Brother to Henry—a good attender altho' very Infirm, a very worthy man—wants an Employment of £400.

Longfield, Richard. B. OF CLONIKELTY

Trustee of the Linen Board by Lord Townshend—brought into Parliament by Lord Shannon—entirely his Follower—a sensible man—Independent Fortune—speaks when prepared tolerably well but with a bad Address—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Supernumerary Guager—Supervisor of Hearth Money—Clerkship in the Stamp Office to Mr. Reeves £100. a year.

Lloyd, John. KING'S COUNTY

A Lawyer—Lord Drogheda has some little connection with him—very Independent—generally against Lord Townshend—constantly Opposed Lord Harcourt.

Lucas, Edward. Co. Monaghan

Lord Dartrey and Lord Blayney have some Influence with him, but not to be depended on—always against.

Lysaght, James. B. CHARLEVILLE

Brought in and entirely devoted to Lord Shannon—Son to Lord Lisle.

Lysaght, Joseph. B. of TALLAGH

Collector of Corke 500/.—Son to Lord Lisle—attach'd to Lord Shannon—supports to save himself.

Lysaght, Nicholas. B. OF TALLAGH

Third Son to Lord Lisle—These three Brothers are related to Lord Shannon & brought in by him.

Macartney, Sir George. B. OF ARMAGH

Brought in by the Primate—was principal Secretary to Lord Townshend—He gave him two Commissions in the Army for Mr. Benson—£80. a year to an old Servant—made Sir George a Trustee of the Linen Board—Privy Council—a Living of £600. a year to his Friend Dean Marlay, and many Places in the Revenue to his Friends—He obtain'd for him as a Reward for his Services a Pension of £1,500. which has since been changed to a Sallary & annex'd to the Office of Constable of Tuam—Lord Harcourt has given him several small Revenue Employments and, Sir George says, a Promise to obtain for him a Peerage, which Lord Townshend recommended but could not effect—He will not be in the next Parliament, and never will attend during this.

McCaussland, John. Montgomery, Alexander.

Lord Townshend attempted, and Lord Harcourt obtained for them in Council a Port of Discharge at Letterkenny—They came into Parliament upon Popular Ground in the County—They stand by & court it—Their Support even after all that has been done is very doubtfull—during the last Session they were pretty steady—Mr. Mc.Caussland has been made Collector of the New Port with a Sallary of £100 a year, and Mr. Montgomery has got to his Recommendation Two Boatmen—I Tidewaiter—Surveyor of the Loughswilley Barge—a Hearth Money Collection.

Mahon, Thomas. Co. Roscommon

Lord Townshend made him a Trustee of the Linen Board and gave a Living of £200. a year to his Son—related

to Lord Crosbie—He has been very steady in his Support and to be depended on—Lord Harcourt offer'd his Son the Deanery of Connor worth £400, and allowed him to commute it with Dr. Dobbs for a Living of that value near to Mr. Mahon's—He has also given to his Recommendation I Supernumerary Guager and the Distributor of Stamps for Roscommon.

Malone, Richard. B. OF GRANARD

A very decent young man—at the Bar—goes and acts with his Uncle Anthony.

Malone, Anthony. Co. WESTMEATH

Privy Council—Commissioner of Appeals worth £300. a year to his nephew-Livings to his Friends-Three Commissions in the Army, and many small Revenue Employments by Lord Townshend—He is generally with Government and has great weight in the House of Commons-During the last Session, particularly upon the very critical Question whether the second Tontine was a Bill of Regulation or Supply, wherein Lord Harcourt's Administration & the Existence of this Parliament were involved, and both must have been undone had not Sir John Blaquiere's wonderfull address & ability saved them, he would not support the Opinion which he gave at the meeting held that very day at the Castle, namely that it was a Bill of Regulation only-His Nephew, the mouth Piece of his Uncle on that occasion in a set Speech maintain'd the contrary-Mr. Malone is now very old & his memory and Judgment are much on the Decline-Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Place in the Revenue of £200.—a Lieutenancy to his Nephew, and a Supernumerary Guager to his voter.

Mason, John. B. OF BLESINGTON (sic)

A Commissioner of the Revenue and a Seat in Parliament by Lord Townshend—a Seat at the Barrack Board to Mr. Mitchell, and provided for his Brother in Law Mr. Monck who is since dead—He gave him an Employment of £200. a year for his Friend Mr. Heley, and a Number of Things in the Revenue for his Friends—He is a very sensible honorable

man—clear in Business and upon all Occasions takes a very manly and decided part in the House of Commons altho' very ill heard—Lord Harcourt intends bringing him into Parliament—His Excellency has given to his Recommendation One Supervisor of Hearth Money—3 Tidewaiters—3 Supernumerary Guagers—1 Hearth Money Collection—1 Coast Officer.

Massey, Hugh. COUNTY OF LIMERICK

Recommended for a Peerage by Lord Townshend—his Brother has a Regiment and his Son is Collector of Maryborough—a very steady Attender—has a large independant Property—Lord Harcourt has not given him any Encouragement to expect his Peerage—He has given to his Recommendation a Supernumerary Guager—a Hearth Money Collection.

Mathews, Francis. Co. of TIPPERARY

He has been constantly in Opposition, has a large Fortune but very much encumbered.

Morres, Lodge. B. OF INNISTEOGE

Devoted to Mr. Ponsonby.

Mathews, Joseph. Borough of Innisteoge

Returned by Sir William Fownes—Collector of Kilkenny worth £200. a year—must support from Situation—a shuffling Gentleman—affects ill health upon critical Questions.

Maude, Sir Thomas. Co. of TIPPERARY

Privy Council & recommended by Lord Townshend for a Peerage—He supports pretty steadily, but upon two occasions last Session opposed and affected Independance—but seeing his Seat in the Council & Peerage in danger He returned to Government—Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation £200. in the Revenue to his Friend—a Supernumerary Tidewaiter, & a Hearth Money Collection.

Maunsell, Thomas, senr. B. OF KILMALOCK

King's Council—Lord Harcourt made him Council to the Revenue worth £800. a year—His Object is to be a Judge, and

if possible, before the new Parliament—an honest but a very dull man—Attends & Supports constantly.

Maunsell, Thomas, junr. B. OF THOMASTOWN

Son to, and brings Thomas senior into Parliament—his only object is to see his Father on the Bench—purchased both Seats with that view—They are worthy honorable men—have great merit from their uniform & steady Support and deserve the particular attention of Government—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Supernumerary Guager.

May, Sir James. Co. WATERFORD

A Baronet in 1763—Collector of Waterford £400.—attach'd to Mr. Ponsonby—supports Government from Situation—Lord Harcourt, altho' a young Ensign allowed his Son to purchase a Lieutenancy.

Mayne, Sir William. B. OF CARYSFORT

Affected great Attachment to the late Duke of Leinster—Lord Townshend had him removed from the Council—A great Patriot, to effect a Jobb in a Lease of Lands from the City of Dublin in which He succeeded—a violent but bad Speaker, and perpetually calling for Accounts and Estimates without knowing their use.

Meade, William. DROGHEDA

The Attorney General and the Chief Baron have some Influence with him—generally against Government.

Mervyn, R. Rochfort. PHILIPSTOWN

Lord Townshend obtained for him a Lieutenant Colonelcy without Purchase—wanted to purchase a Lieutenant Colonelcy of Horse over Major Pope—He is Lord Belvidere's second Brother and will certainly act with him.

Mitchell, Hugh Henry. B. of Inniskillen

was appointed by Lord Townshend Treasurer of the Barrack Board, which He afterwards permitted him to exchange with Mr. Adderly the Commissioner-Brother in Law to Mr. Mason.

Molineux, Sir Capel. UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN

His support has been always very doubtfull—wants to be of the Privy Council—An Independent respectable man.

Montgomery, Geo. B. OF CAVAN

Barrack Master's place £150. for his Friend—Son in Law to Mr. Clements—On some few Questions during Lord Townshend's Administration He voted with Government—In Lord Harcourt's He has been constantly against, and hates all Government.

Montgomery, William. B. of HILLSBOROUGH

was a Commissioner of Excise—upon reuniting the Boards placed upon a Pension of £600.—Lord Townshend gave him an Employment of £200. a year for his Brother—£120. for his Son and many places in the Revenue to his Friends—Brought in by & dependent on Lord Hillsborough—He absented himself almost during the whole of last Session for which he ought to have lost his Pension—affects consequence from Independance—a mean man—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Montgomery, Alexander. Co. Monaghan

Always against—Lord Dartrey & Lord Blayney have some Influence with him.

Moore, Thomas. B. OF KELLES

Connected with Lord Bective—married his Sister and brought into Parliament by his Lordship—Mr. Rowley has also some Influence with him—generally against—It is expected from an application made by Lord Bective for a Living, that his friends will at least be moderate in their opposition next Session.

Moore, John. B. OF BALLYNAKILL

Cousin to Lord Drogheda—constantly Supports—Lord Harcourt gave his Son an Ensigncy.

Montgomery, Sir William. B. OF BALLYNAKILL

Purchased his Seat of Lord Drogheda—Auditor of the Imprests which, with an additional Sallary obtained by Lord Townshend of £378., may be computed at £1,000. a year—gave his Son a Cornetcy without pay—In lieu of the Office of Barrackmaster of Kinsale, he gave him the Dublin Permit Office worth £300., a sinecure held in the name of One of his Clerks—and in addition to all, Lord Townshend married his youngest Daughter Anne—a Steady Friend and an amiable respectable man—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Stamper—a Land Carriage Officer.

Moore, Colville. B. OF CLONMELL

Brother to Lord Mt. Cashell—Insane—formerly Collector of Corke Excise—superannuated on his Sallary of £100.—never attends.

Moore, William. B. OF CLOGHER

Brother to Lord Mt. Cashell—attach'd to & follows Mr. Ponsonby.

Morres, Haydock, now Sir Haydock. KILKENNY

Devoted to & follows Mr. Ponsonby.

Mowtray, James. B. of AUGHER

Brother in Law to Mr. Knox of Dungannon and entirely influenced by him & Mr. Brownlowe—He supported last Session, for which his Brother was made Surveyor of Killybegs.

Morres, Red[mond]. CITY OF DUBLIN

A violent Patriot-always against.

Nedham, William. B. OF NEWRY

Nephew to Lord Chatham—never attends—To be applied to thro' Lord Hillsborough & Mrs. Ann Pitt.

Nesbit, Thomas. B. OF CAVAN

Had a Cornetcy and a Company given him—now on Half Pay—Lord Townshend obtained a Pension of £500. a year

to his Father—He supports steadily but wants something for himself—Lord Harcourt has given a Supernumerary Guager to his Recommendation.

Neville, Richard Jones. B. OF WEXFORD

Made his Father a Commissioner of the Revenue by Lord Townshend—He is sometimes with, but uncertain and very Independant.

Newenham, Sir Edward. B. OF ENNISCORTHY

Formerly Collector of Dublin County Excise—dismissed by Lord Townshend—In violent Opposition—a miserable Speaker and a contemptible silly Fellow—He is now a Candidate for the County of Dublin.

O'Brien, Sir Lucius. Co. of CLARE

In Opposition always, but would very willingly make his Peace with the Castle—He has lately ask'd the Collection of Galway for his Brother, and it is very probable that one if not both will support next Session.

O'Brien, Edward. B. OF ENNIS

Brother to, & brought in by Sir Lucius—very distress'd in his Circumstances, and it is apprehended that if his Brother should not, he will Support next Session in Expectation that something will be done for him.

O'Callaghan, Corn[elius]. B. OF FETHARD

A Gentleman that requires great caution to talk with—has been always in Opposition—He ask'd and got from Lord Harcourt a Living of £150.—gave at that Time thro' Mr. Scott some expectation of his Support—He lately married Mr. Ponsonby's Daughter.

Ogle, George. Co. WEXFORD

Has been constantly in Opposition—a respectable sensible man—not to be detached from his Party.

O'Hara, Charles. B. of ARMAGH

Ranger of the Curragh £400. and a Pension of £200. for Thirty One years, both of which he sold—Lord Townshend

made him a Commissioner of Accounts, and He wanted an additional Sallary of £300.—Lord Harcourt has removed him [from] that Board on a Pension of £500.—a good attender and a sensible man—seldom Speaks & ill hear'd. Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Oliver, Silver. Co. LIMERICK

Privy Counsellor—asked a Bishoprick for his Relation but kept at a Distance from Parliament—a very independent Country Gentleman—always uncertain in his Support—Opposed constantly last winter, for which he ought to have been dismiss'd the Council—He has ask'd a Peerage of Lord Harcourt—no Encouragement given by His Excellency.

O'Niel, John. B. OF RANDALSTOWN

Of great Property in the North—amiable & respectable in publick & private—Upon several occasions last winter He supported Lord Harcourt—His Excellency has given to his Recommendation I Tidewaiter—2 Supernumerary Guagers & Distributor Stamps, Co. Tyrone—a Coast officer for Mr. O'Hagar.

O'Niel, St. John. B. OF RANDALSTOWN Returned by, and follows his Brother.

Ormsby, William. B. of SLIGO

Collector of Sligo £300.—Pension of £200. to his Friend Mr. Gough in lieu of £1,500. which his Friend Mr. Gough had paid him in part purchase of his Collection; But Lord Townshend not permitting the Sale of Civil Employments, and Ormsby having spent the money, his Lordship obtain'd the Pension for Gough—notwithstanding this substantial Favour, Mr. Ormsby talks of neglect and desires a better Employment—He attends when in Health pretty well—connected with the Mr. Wynnes—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Supernumerary Guager.

Osborne, Sir William. [B. DUNGARVAN]

Privy Counsellor and first Commissioner of Excise— Turned out of the latter for refusing to obey Lord Townshend's order-His Brother a Surveyor General, reduced upon reuniting the Boards-Sir William is a very able but a most impracticable man in Business—He was very attentive on Lord Harcourt's arrival & supported handsomely in the Council on the Loughswilley Question-From which it was imagined he would have supported Government in Parliament-His Excellency offer'd him a Cornetcy for his Son which Sir William declined—when the Session open'd He talk'd of Impeachments against Lord Townshend and the Chancellor on account of the Illegallity of the Revenue Patent-Sir John Blaquiere with great wisdom & address having discovered Sir William's plan, anticipated its effect by stating to the House the then defects in the Revenue Bill and in the Appointment of Officers under the then Patent by the Commissioners, which the House unanimously agreed to Remedy by a new Clause in the Revenue Bill when it came before them—Sir William thus disappointed absented himself much from the House-Towards the Close of the Session He again appear'd & denounced Vengeance, which ended in a motion against the Importation of Juniper Berries, upon which Subject Sir John Blaquiere shewed so much better Information [that] Sir William was again defeated and did not attend the House afterwards.

Pakenham, Robert. Co. LONGFORD

Brother to Lord Longford—was a Lieutenant in the Army and had been constantly in Opposition—He closed with & supported Lord Harcourt upon a Promise of a Company which His Excellency has since procured for him in the 33rd Regiment—In very bad state of Health, thought he cannot live—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation one Tidewaiter.

Palmer, Roger. B. of Portarlington

Chamberlain of the Exchequer £50. which he purchased—Paymaster of the Corn Premiums £600.—Lord Townshend recommended but did not obtain an additional Sallary of £150. to his office of Chamberlain—a very steady & zealous

Friend of Government—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—I Tidewaiter—3 Guagers.

Parnell, Sir John. B. OF MARYBOROUGH

A Baronet in 1766—connected with Lord Drogheda, but in constant Opposition.

Parsons, Sir William. KING'S COUNTY

Lord Drogheda has some Influence with him, but likewise in constant Opposition.

Pepper, Thomas. B. OF KELLS

Brought into Parliament by Lord Bective—connected with Mr. Rowley—has been always against Government.

Pennyfather, Richard Pennyfather, William CASHELL

Father & Son—formerly in violent Opposition – bought off by a Pension of £210. to his Daughter & her Children and an additional Pension of £200. to his Sister, Lady St. Leger, and an Ensigncy to his Nephew—These were their terms which Lord Townshend fullfill'd—The Son William now wants Compensation for a Loss sustained by an improper advantage taken of him by Lord Hertford, and wants an Employment of not less than £200. a year for himself.

Pery, Ed. Sexton. CITY OF LIMERICK

Lord Townshend made him Privy Counsellor & Speaker—gave a Deanery to his Brother of £600. a year and several small Employments in the Revenue—Lord Harcourt has been equally attentive to him in the Revenue Employments for his Friends—When Lord Townshend carried the Chair for him, the late Provost became Responsible to Government for his Conduct—To Lord Townshend he was at best but Lukewarm in his Support—a man of great abilities—a cursed Jobber—hates English Government, and tries by all means in his power to ruin the King's Hereditary Revenue and to raise the consequence of Irishmen by inducing every possible Difficulty upon the Crown. This Gentleman's Art,

Subtlety, & Address are more to be guarded against than the Abilities & Craft of the Attorney General and the whole House of Commons besides-Of this his conduct afforded many Instances during the last Session, particularly with regard to the second Tontine Bill-It had pass'd thro' every form in the Commons & in England as a Bill of Regulation only—when it was sent up to the Lords, He said he should expect it back as a Bill of Supply for which the Commons were to receive His Majesty's Thanks-It pass'd thro' the House of Lords as a Bill of Regulation and as such it was sent to the Commons - The Question was whether It ought to be received—The Debate lasted Seven hours—Two thirds of the House seem'd determined to support the Opinion of the Speaker which he delivered in a Speech of 3/4 hour with astonishing ability, and just as the Question was going to be put Sir John Blaquiere got up contrary to every form of Parliamentary Proceeding after the Speaker had, with the consent of the House, closed the Debate, and in a Speech of about half an hour gave such a Turn to the whole that upon a Division it was carried against the Chair by a considerable majority—The Speaker's Plan evidently was to have effected a Conference between the two Houses, in which from the mode the Bill had been conducted in each, It became impossible for them to agree, and a Dissolution, which probably would have involved Lord Harcourt's Administration, must have been the certain consequence, besides the loss of the Tontine Bill; for without carrying that then depending, the other would have fallen of course, and Pery would undoubtedly have been returned for the Chair - It was a masterpiece of Policy & Design scarcely perhaps to be equal'd—He has ask'd a Bishoprick for his Brother-His Excellency has given to his Recommendation Three Tidewaiters-The Distributor of Stamps for Limerick.

Pole, William. QUEEN'S COUNTY

Brother in Law to Lord Drogheda—Turned out of the Council by Lord Townshend—has been constantly in Opposition—connected with Lord Hertford.

Pom[e]roy, Arthur. Co. KILDARE

Returned by & devoted to the Leinster Family—had he been unconnected with his Grace, He certainly would have supported His Excellency—Lord Harcourt offered him a Seat at the Revenue Board, which the Duke would not allow him to accept.

Preston, Joseph. B. OF NAVAN

Mr. Ponsonby's Follower—To be spoken to by the Chief Baron—Lord Granard has some little connection with him—Nephew to Lord Ludlow—has been always against.

Preston, John. B. OF NAVAN

The same.

Pom[e]roy, John. B. OF TRIM

Returned by Lord Mornington—Colonel of the 64th Regiment—Lord Townshend obtained for his Friend Captain Powell a Majority without Purchase and a Company to his Recommendation—He gave his Lordship but a very feint (sic) support—To Lord Harcourt's Administration He has been zealously attach'd—His Excellency has given to his Nomination an Ensigncy and a Hearth Money Collection—a Tidewaiter—The Purchase & Preference of a Lieutenancy for his Nephew.

Ponsonby, William. CITY OF CORKE

Son to John—fell with his Father—late Ex[aminator] of the Customs.

Ponsonby, John. Co. KILKENNY

Privy Council—late Speaker etc. etc. etc.

Price, Francis. B. OF LISBURNE

Nephew to Lord Hertford—Returned by his Lordship—was formerly Collector of Strangford which he had leave to Sell—ask'd to be a Commissioner of the Revenue—a very bad attender.

Prittee, Henry. B. OF GOWRAN

Related to Sir Henry Cavendish—ask'd several Favours of Lord Townshend—very uncertain in his Support—last winter he seldom attended, & I think when he did was against.

Quin, Wyndham. B. OF KILLMALLOCK

Brother in Law to Lord Dartree—a Gentleman of large Property—purchased his Seat—wanted to be of the Privy Council—very uncertain in his Support—has almost constantly Patriotic Qualms.

Ram, Andrew. B. OF DULEEK

Ram, Abel. NEWBORO GOREY

Stephen Ram. THE SAME

These Gentlemen make a merit of never giving a Vote to the Castle.

Radcliff, Dr. B. OF IRISHTOWN

Related to the late Bishop of Ossory & connected with the Primate.

Rochfort, Robert. B. OF AUGHER

Brother to Lord Belvidere—Surveyor of the King's Lands, £500, a year for Life—has been generally with Government and when attended to, constantly—Now that his Father is dead and that he is left Independant both from office & private Fortune, it is probable he will have some Bargain to make for himself: a man of amiable Character and very much respected—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Rowley, Clotworthy. B. OF DOWNPATRICK

Connected with Mr. Rowley & inclined to be against on that account, but very poor and supported Lord Townshend on Expectation, He must Lord Harcourt from Situation, His Excellency having made him a Commissioner of Appeals £300.

Ross, Robert. Bor. of Carlingford

Lord Townshend procured Leave for him to Sell his Lieutenant Colonelcy—during his Administration he was chiefly against—Connected with Lord Hillsborough—much attach'd to Mr. Brownlowe, and during the last Session always followed him—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation 5 Boatmen—1 Tidewaiter—1 Coxwain (sic)—Is to provide for his Friend Mr. Moore's Son and to assist Mr. Houston.

Ruxton, John. B. OF ATHERDEE

One Brother Surgeon General—another Brother Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to my Lord Lieutenant—connected with Mr. Ponsonby and has been always in Opposition.

Roche, Boyle. B. OF TRALEE

Brigade Major of Dublin-wants a Civil Employment.

Rowley, Hercules Langford. Co. OF MEATH

His Wife made a Viscountess—of very great property—courts popularity and has almost constantly been very adverse to Government.

St. George, Sir Richard. B. OF ATHLONE

Made a Baronet in 1766—connected with Lord Arran—has been always against.

Sandford, Henry. B. OF CARRICK

Register of Forfeitures £800. for Life—Ill Health and never Attends—Attach'd to the Duke of Leinster.

Sandford, Robert. B. OF ROSCOMMON

Lieutenant Colonel on Half Pay which, with his Government of Galway, He holds by King's Letter—He wants an additional Sallary.

Sentleger, Sentleger. B. OF DONERAILE

Follows Lord Shannon—promised the Peerage of Doneraile. Lord Harcourt gave him a Supernumerary Guager.

Shiel, Robert. B. OF DUNDALK

King's Council—Commissioner of Appeals £300.—Returned by Lord Clanbrassill—It is imagined his Lordship will not bring him into the next Parliament.

Scott, John. B. OF MULLINGAR

Brought into Parliament by Lord Townshend and made him King's Council & Council to the Commissioners of Customs—a very able & rising man both in Parliament and at the Bar—generous & manly in his private and Publick Conduct—grateful & punctual where He professes—Lord Harcourt, entertaining upon all Occasions the highest opinion of his Integrity, Secrecy, Abilities, & Judgment, has consulted him and treated him with the utmost confidence—He made him Solicitor General and gave an Employment of £400. a year to his Brother—also to his Recommendation—2 Supernumerary Guagers—Stamp Inspector of the Courts to Mr. O'Brien £70.

Steele, Sir Richard. B. OF MULLINGAR

A Baronet and Trustee of the Linen Board by Lord Townshend—The very reverse of Mr. Scott—ungratefull and unfaithfull—wants a Pension of £150. for his Son.

Sibthorpe, Robert. B. OF DUNLEER

Judge of Kilmainham—Related to the Chief Baron Foster—His conduct upon the Park Presentment 1 is too recent to require any Description.

Smyth, Charles. CITY OF LIMERICK

Wanted a Grant of the King's Island which Lord Townshend procured for the purpose of a new Barrack—He is generally in Opposition.

¹ Some works of enclosure and improvement having been carried out by the Government in the Phœnix Park, Dublin, the citizens claimed the Park, either by prescription or as ancient common, and in August 1774, raised subscriptions to contest the right of the Crown. The Corporation presented the Bailiff's (Sir J. Blaquiere's) Lodge as a nuisance, intending if successful to present the other Lodges. The case was heard in the King's Bench in Feb. 1775. Robinson (p. 87), one of the judges, 'joined the mob,' and endeavoured to have the presentment traversed, but was unsuccessful, and the jury gave a verdict in favour of the Crown (see Harcourt Papers, ix. 261–264).

Skeffington, William John. B. OF ANTRIM

Lord Townshend obtained for him a Company of Foot for which he supported constantly—Lord Harcourt refused him a Troop of Dragoons, and in the last Session He opposed violently—He is in private Life consider'd as an honorable amiable young man—Brother to Lord Masserene.

Skeffington, Henry. BELFAST

Brother to Lord Masserene—Returned by Lord Donegal and has been constantly in Opposition, altho' his Lordship received many Favours during Lord Townshend's Administration—Mr. Skeffington acts with Mr. Ponsonby.

Skeffington, Hugh. ANTRIM

A Troop of Horse & Brevet Rank as Major—Lord Townshend procured a Pension of £200. a year for his Sister in Law—Uncle to Lord Masserene—a drunken weak man—never to be depended on.

Somerville, James. B. of CARLOW

A Wine Merchant—has been always against.

Stewart, Robert. Co. DOWNE

Son in Law to Lord Hertford—now married to a Daughter of Lord Camden's—always against.

Staples, John. B. OF CLOGHER

Commissioner of Customs—Brother in Law to Mr-Conolly—attach'd to him, but must support from Situation—He will Shirk when he can—requires attending to—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation I Boatman—2 Tidewaiters—I Supernumerary Guager.

Stewart, Sir Annesley. B. OF CHARLEMONT

Lord Townshend gave him a Cornetcy which fell vacant by the Death of his Relation during its Passage thro' the office—has always been in Opposition.

Stewart, William. B. OF NEWCASTLE

Lord Lanesborough's, and always acts with him.

Stewart, James. Co. Tyrone

Captain of Horse—Nephew to Lord Kingston—generally against.

Stratford, John. B. OF BALTINGLASS

His Father made a Peer in 1762—Leave to his Brother to purchase a Company of Foot—another Brother Chaplain to Lord Harcourt—The Support & Gratitude of this very honorable Family never to be depended on.

Smith, Thomas. BALLYSHANNON

Returned by Mr. Conolly—has not taken his Seat—Son to Charles Smith, Member for Limerick.

Swan, Edward Bellingham. B. LANESBOROUGH

Clerk of the Permits which he resigned on being appointed Surveyor General—A Pension of £250. to his Sisters, for which he purchased into Parliament—Lord Harcourt made his Brother John, Steward of his Household, and gave him an Employment of £400. a year—Mr. Swan is Comptroller—at the end of last Session He got an Extra Warrant of £200.—He was zealous, steady, & able in his Support of Lord Townshend, and has been equally attach'd to & serviceable to Lord Harcourt.

Talbot, William. B. of Johnstown

Lord Townshend gave his Nephew a Living of £300. a year—Independent, & respectable—frequently opposes—He has ask'd Lord Harcourt for a Living for another Nephew—His Conduct during the last Session was very fair & deserves Consideration.

Tighe, William. ATHBOY

Son in Law to Sir William Fownes—attach'd to Mr. Ponsonby and always against Government.

Tighe, Edward. B. of Wicklow

Commissioner of Accounts and the Supervisorship of Wicklow to his Friend—steady in his Support—sensible, and may be made very usefull in the House—His Excellency

allowed him to Name the first Clerk in the Stamp Office £100. a year.

Tighe, Robert. B. OF ROSCOMMON

Patentee Comptroller of Dublin, which he purchased of Mr. Rigby—Nephew to Mr. Clements, goes with him—claimed a Promise made him by Lord Townshend which Lord Harcourt has fullfilled by appointing him Clerk of the Deliveries to the Ordnance worth £200.

Tottenham, Charles. B. OF BANNOW

Collector of Drogheda £400.—Lord Ely's Nephew—In his Heart with Mr. Ponsonby—wants to be Surveyor General—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation I Boatman.

Tottenham, Charles. B. OF CLOMINES

Made a Commissioner of the Customs by Lord Townshend—reduced on reuniting the Boards to a Pension of £600.—Brother in Law to Lord Ely and acts implicitly with him. Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation Four Boatmen—Two Tidewaiters.

Tottenham, Charles. B. of New Ross

Son to the Commissioner.

Tottenham, John. B. OF FETHARD

Father to the Commissioner-very old-never attends.

Tisdall, Philip. DUBLIN UNIVERSITY

Privy Counsellor—Secretary of State £1800.—Attorney General £1500.—Judge of the Prerogative Courts £1200.—Lord Townshend made his Cousin Mr. Boyle a Commissioner of the Revenue £1000.—a Living of £600. to Mr. Disney—a Cornetcy to his Nephew—his Brother a Commissioner of the Barrack Board £400.—several small Livings and many Places in the Revenue to his Friends—He was out of Humour latterly with Lord Townshend because he could not obtain for him a large Pension for 31 years—deceived and betrayed him on many occasions—To be strictly watch'd & cautiously

confided in—He promised to Support Lord Harcourt and affected great Candour and disinterestedness — During the last Session when desired He attended—seldom took any part in Debate—On the Speaker's motion to have the second Tontine Bill received as a Bill of Supply, He supported handsomely & ably in the House the opinion he had given at the meeting at the Castle, that it was a Bill of Regulation.

Townsend, Mr. Co. CORKE

Commissioner of the Customs—Lord Shannon's Friend—has very great influence upon Mr. Sentleger—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation One Boatman—Two Hearth Money Collectors.

Tunadine, John. B. OF ASKEYTON

Master in Chancery—An Ensigncy for his Nephew by Lord Townshend, and he allowed his Friend to Sell a Military Employment by which He secured his Borough—very steady in his Support—much attach'd to and acts with the Maunsells.

Trench, William P. Keating. Co. GALWAY

Brother in Law to Mr. Ponsonby—Listed with and fought under Mr. Ponsonby—has been always in Opposition.

Tyrell, Duke. B. OF PHILLIPSTOWN

Follows strictly Lord Belvidere—wants an Employment—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation [ends].

Vandeleur, Crofton. B. OF ENNIS

Several small Favours and gave his Friend Mr. Blakeney the Place of Surveyor General £500. a year—a very Shabby mean Fellow & never to be depended on.

Vesey, Agond [Agmondisham]. B. OF KINSALE

Accountant General £800. a year—wants to Sell his Employment, the only hold Government has on him—His object is to be of the Privy Council or a Commissioner of the Revenue.

Underwood, Richard. B. OF TRALEE

Providore to the Royal Hospital & two small offices to his Friends by Lord Townshend — Purchased his Seat; Harrass'd by General Dilkes—attach'd to Mr. Beresford—Lord Harcourt procured an additional allowance for maintaining the old men [? man], and a Sum of Money for the loss he had sustained—very steady in his Support. He wants to be of the Linen Board—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Land Carriage Officer.

Waller, Robert. B. OF DUNDALK

Formerly a Surveyor General—afterwards by Lord Townshend a Commissioner of Excise—Returned by Lord Clanbrassill—very steady—has great knowledge in the Revenue—his Brother Clerk of the Minutes to the Excise Board worth £200.—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—2 Guagers—a Hearth Money Collection—a Coast Officer and a Supervisor of Hearth Money.

Ward, Nicholas. B. BANGOR

Lord Townshend obtained a Peerage for his Father—more than half an Ideat, requires watching.

Westby, Nicholas. B. of Tulsk

Purchased of Justice Caulfield—has opposed constantly.

Walsh, General. B. MARYBOROUGH

Colonel 56th Regiment—Quarter Master's Commission for one Friend—a Living of £200. and afterwards a Deanery of £700. to his Brother by Lord Townshend—very Steady in his Support—Lord Harcourt has given him an Ensigncy to his Relation Mr. Jephson.

Westenraw, Henry. Monaghan

Brought in by Lord Clermont when his Lordship got his Peerage—He promised that this Gentleman should always support Government—He ask'd Lord Townshend for an Employment, and on being refused went into Opposition—He has renewed his Request to Lord Harcourt, and last

Session he supported—This unfortunate Gentleman is claim'd as his by Lord Clermont, Mr. Fortescue, & General Cuningham when either of them have any Point to carry—when he is left by them for a moment, He then Sollicits for himself.

Wilson, James. B. OF TAGHMON

Mr. Ponsonby's Friend & violent in Opposition.

Wood, Attiwell. B. CASTLEMARTYR

A Lawyer—sensible man—bad Speaker—very tedious—follows Lord Shannon.

Wynne, Owen. Co. SLIGO

Privy Council—Trustee of the Linen Board—Governor of Corke to his Brother, and for which he promised always to Support, by Lord Townshend—generally with Government but often out of Humour—wants a Sinecure for his Son—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation the Office of Surveyor of Sligo and One Tidewaiter—5 Boatmen—Mate Sligo Barge—Distributor of Stamps, Sligo.

Wynne, John. B. of SLIGO

Governor of Corke—Lord Harcourt allowed him to Sell his Lieutenant Colonelcy of Horse—never without some Scheme or Grievance.

Yelverton, Barry. B. OF DONEGALL

A Lawyer of some Eminence—much connected with & attended to by the Chancellor—Brought in at the End of last Session by the Earl of Arran.

[BOROUGH OWNERS, LEADERS OF CONNEXIONS AND FOLLOWERS.]

Duke of Leinster

Sir Fitz. Aylmer.
Sir Kild. Burrowes
William Burg
Simon Digby
Robert Graydon
Roger Hall
Jos. Henry
Walter Hussey
Sir William Mayne
Arthur Pomroy
Thomas Burg

Lord Shannon

Richard Aldworth James Barry Sir John Colthurst **James Dennis** Ab. Devonshire Rigs Falkiner Den. Jephson Den. Jephson, jun. James Kearney Richard Townsend Richard Longfield Jas. Lysaght Nichs. Lysaght Sentleger Sentleger Attiwell Wood Jos. Lysaght Sir Robert Deane Jocelyn Deane

Mr. Ponsonby

John Blackwood Cornelius Bolton Wm. Brabzon Wm. Burton Ios. Deane Sir Wm. Fownes John Hatch Edward Hoare Jos. Hoare Arthur Johnston Richd. Le Hunte William Moore Lodge Morres Sir Haydock Morres Sir Wm. Parsons Wm. B. Ponsonby Jos. Preston John Preston John Ruxton Wm. P. K. Trench James Wilson John Hyde

Lord Ely

Ar. Loftus Hen. Loftus John Tottenham Charles Tottenham Charles Tottenham Charles Tottenham Robert Hellen

Sir Lu. O'Brien

Ed. O'Brien

Lord Drogheda

John Moore Wm. Poole Francis Price Mr. Dobbs Sir John Parnell

Mr. Clements

Robert Clements Theo. Clements T. Nesbit Robert Tighe

Lord Annaly

John French Henry Gore Wm. Gore

Mr. Conolly

Mr. Smyth Mr. Staples

Lord Crosbie

Sergt. Coppinger Laun. Crosbie Thomas Mahon

Lord Lanesboro

Jno. Cog. Cramer Mr. Stewart

Mr. Malone

Richard Malone Dennis Daly Anthony Daly

Lord Dawson

John Dawson Ephraim Dawson Roger Palmer

Lord Mornington

Thos. Fortescue General Pomroy

Lord Arran

Richard Gore Counsellor Yelverton Sir John Freke James Cuffe

Sir Henry Cavendish

John Croker Peter Holmes Henry Prittee James Cavendish

Lord Conyngham

Richard Jones Col. Burton

Lord Donegall

Henry Skeffington

Lord Kingston

Henry King Captain Stewart Richard Fitzgerald

Lord Bective

Thomas Moore Thomas Pepper

Lord Belvidere

Robt. Rochfort Col. Rochfort Duke Tyrell

Lord Clermont

James Fortescue Mr. Westenraw General Cuningham

Attorney General

Mr. Fran. Leigh

Provost

Mr. Earbery

STATE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 2ND JULY 1775.

N.B.—Those marked * must from situation support Government.

Those marked † can scarcely be considered under the influence of the Person to whom they are classed unless to effect some point personal to themselves, then they become united but not otherwise.

Those marked ‡ may be detached.

Names		1

!	Names				For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
Acheson †				1	1			
Adderley		•	•		1			!
Agar .		•	•	•	1		=	
Aldworth	: :	•	•	•				
Allan † .		•	•	- 1	1	=		
Alexander	: :	•	•	- 1				
Archdall .		•	•	- 1			1	_
Armstrong †	• •	•	•	•		1	-	
Aylmer .	• •	•	•			7	<u></u>	_
Butler Pierce		•	•	٠.	1	- - - 1		_
Balfour † .		•	•	•	1			_
Barry Barry		•	•	• 1		-		_
Barry, Robert	• •	•	•	•	1			-
Barry, James	•	•	•	•	1			_
Beauchamp, I	ord	•	•	•	1	<u>-</u>	i -	-
Beresford		•	•	•	ī			•
Bingham †		•	•	• /			T-	_
Birch .	• •	•	•	٠.	1	Ξ		_
Blackwood		•	•			1		_
2 Blakeneys *		•	•	- 1	2	1	1 - T	
Bligh .		•	•	•	1	_		
Blunden .	• •	•	•	•		- - 1		_
Bolton .	•	•	•	. 1				_
Burrowes		•	•	- 1	_			_
2 Bourkes		•	•	. 1	•		1 5 7	
Broderick		•	•	.	2			- 1
Brooke .	• •	•	•	- 1				
2 Brownes	• •	•	•	1	<u>-</u>			
Brownlowe	•	•	•	- 1	2		I	_
2 Burghs	• •	•	•	- 1		7		-
Burton, Col.	•	•	•	•	1			•
Bushe .	• •	•	•	- 1	1			
Butler .	• •	•	•	.	ī	<u></u>		
Burton, Carlo	 w	•	•	•				
Ragenal Real	rhemn	•	•			*		-
Bagenal, Beau Burton, Pierp Blaquiere, Sir	+	•	•					; 1
Blaquiere Sir	Iohn	•	•		1			
Brabzon †	Jum .	•	•			1		
Campbell, Ld.	F	•	•	. 1				- 1
Cane .		•	•		I			<u> </u>
Carew, Rober	· ·	•	•	. 1		1		
Carew, Shap.	•	•	•	•		1		
Carleton .		•	•	•	<u> </u>			
Carleton .	• •	•	•	• [- 1

Nam	es				For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
Carey				.	1	_	_	_
Conolly						I		_
2 Cavendish's .				.	2			
Caulfield, Francis †				.	I		-	_
Caulfield, Wm.				.	1		_	_ i
Chicester .				.				1
Chapman .				.		1		
Clement, V. P					_	1		_
3 Clements . Coddington .				.	3			_
Coddington .				. 1	3	_	_	_
Coghlan				.	I	=	_	-
Colclough .						1	_	_
Colthurst .				. 1	1	_	4.4	_
Conway				.	1	_	_	_
Cooper				.	I	<u> </u>	_	
Coote					ī			
Coppinger .					1	_		
Crosbie	•				ī	_		
Corry, Armor L.					_	1		_
Curry					_	1	_ _ _	
Cotter						ī		
Cramer					1			
Creighton .			•	. !		1	_	_
Crofton			·				1	
Croker		·				_ _ _	ī	
Cuffe		·			I			
Cuninghame .	:	•			ī			
Daly, D						1		
Daly, A	:	-			<u> </u>	ī		
Damer †				. !	1	<u>-</u> -		
2 Dawsons .					2	_	_	
3 Deanes				. 1	2	I	– i	
3 Deanes . Dennis				. 1	ī	_		_
Denny					1			
Devonshire .				. 1	i		1	_
Digby				. i	_	1	_	
Dillon					1			_
Dobbs				.	_			
Dunbar, George †				. !	1	_	I	
Dunbar, Charles				. i	Ī			_
Dunluce, Lord				. [_	1		_
Earbury				.	I		- 1	
Falkiner				. 1	1			
Fetherston .				.	1	_		_
2 Fitzgeralds .				.	2			_
Fitzgerald, Richard				.		1		
Fitzgibbon .				.	_	I		_
Flood, Henry .			•	.		-	1	_
Flood, John .				. !	- 1		1	_
Flood, Warden				. i	;		1	- 1
Forde				. 1	}	1	!	
Fortescue, Jas.				. !	_ ;		1	_
Fortescue, Th.				.	<u> </u>			- 1
Foster				.		_	1	_
Fownes				. 1		1	<u> </u>	-
Freake				.		1	_	_
French, Robt.				.	_	1		-
•				,	,			•

Name	:5			For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
French, John				1	-	_	_
Gamble †				I	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	
Gisborne			.	I	_	i —	
Gore, Richard			.		1		
Gore, William			. 1		_	I	
Gore, William Gore, Henry				1	_	_	
Gorges, Richard			.	I	=	_	
Graydon					1	_	_
Grogan .					1	-	_
Gardiner			. 1		i —	1	
Hall		_			I	_	
Hamilton, George		-		I	_		_
Hamilton, Sir H.		-	- 1	Ī	_		_
Hamilton, John	•	•	•	-	1	i	_
Hamilton, Claud.	•	•	• •		ī		
Handcock .	•	•	• :	1	<u>-</u>		·
Hatch .	•	•	• !		1	_	
Hellen		•	• ;	1	1 -		_
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Henry	•	•	.	-	1	-	
Hill	•	•	•	I	-	_	_
Hoares, Ed. & Jos.	•	•	• 1		2		
Holmes	.	•	•	1	=		
2 Howards, Hugh &	Kalph	•	•	2	1 —	_	
Hull, Tonson .	•	•	• '	_		<u> </u>	
Hussey		•	• ¦	_	<u>1</u>		
Hutchinson .		•	•	I	-		-
Hyde		•	•	-	I	_	-
Jackson			. !	I	=	_	
Jeffereyes .			•	I	<u> </u>	'	
3 Jephsons *				3	<u> </u>	_	_
Tohnston † .		•	.	_	I	-	-
Jones, Theo			.	I	<u> </u>		
Jones, Richard			.	I	_		
Irwine					I	-	
Kearney			. !	I	·	I —	
King				I	!		_
Kirwan		·			1		_
Knox. John +				1	-		
Knox, John † . Knox, Tho		•		_		1	
2 Lamberts .		•	- !	2	i	_	_
Langrishe .		•	:	ī	- I - - -	<u> </u>	
Latouche		•	.	-	!	l T	
Le Hunte, Richard	•	•	•	_	1	<u> </u>	_
Leigh, Fras. † .	•	•	.	ī			
Leigh Debest	•	•	.		ī	_	_
Leigh, Robert	•	•	•	-	-		
Leslie	•	•	•	1		_	_
Levinge	•	•	•	-	į		
Loftus, Henry .	•	•	• !	I	. –	_	
Loftus, Ar	•	•	• :	I	· —	-	
Longfield	· .	•	• 1	I	· -	-	
Lowthers, Gorges &	Geo.	•	• !	_	2	-	
Lloyd	•	•	•		I	-	
Lucas		•	• !	_	I		
Lysaghts, Jas., Jos.,	Nich.		• !	3			
34	_		. :		· -	I —	I
Macartney	•						
McCaussland Montgomery, Al	. :		• !	I I	<u> </u>	-	-

Names		For		Doubtful	Absent
Morres, Red		_	I	_	_
Mahon		I	l —	-	_
Malones, Anthony & Richard		2			_
Mason		Ī		_	
Massey	•	Ī	l		
Mathew	• •	. •	I		
		_		i I	
Mathews		I	_	_	_
Morres, Lodge		:	I		_
Maude		. 1	-	!	
2 Maunsells		2	!		
May		I	i —	-	
Mayne			l —	1	
Meade			I		
Mervyn, Rochfort		1	_		
Mitchell	•	Ī	l		
Molineux	• •	•			
		_		<u> </u>	
Montgomery, Geo		_	I	-	_
Montgomery, Comm[issioner]		I		_	
Montgomery, Monaghan.			I	_	
Montgomery, Monaghan . Montgomery, Sir Wm		I	-	-	
Moore, Thomas		_	I		
Moore, John		1		_	
Moore, Colv		<u> </u>	_	l	1
Moore, Wm	•	!	1		
		i —	1	-	
Morres, Haydock			1	_	_
Mowtray		I	-	_	
Nedham		_	-	_	1
Nesbit		I		-	
Neville			I	_	
Newenham †		·	1		
O'Brien, Sir L			l —	I	_
O'Brien, Ed		١	l	I	
O'Callaghan	•		I		
	• •	_			
Ogle	• •	_	I	_	
O'Hara		1	<u> </u>	_	_
Oliver		_		1	
O'Niels, John & St. John		2	_		_
Ormsby		1	-	l —	_
Osborne			-	I	
Pakenham		1	I —		_
Palmer †		ī	1 _	_	_
Parnell	• •	l <u>.</u>	I	_	_
Parsons		_		-	_
Democratican Del 9 III		_	I	-	_
Pennefathers, Rd. & Wm.		2	-		_
Pepper		_	I	-	_
Pery, Speaker		I	-	-	_
Poole			1		
Pomroy, A			1	_	
Pomroy, John		1	I _	_	
Ponsonbys, John & Son .		. <u>-</u>	2	l '	
Prestone Ice & Ichn		_	-	2	
Prestons, Jos. & John .		_	=	2	_
Price		I	-		
Prittie		-	-	I	_
Qwin			I		_
Rams, And., Ab. St		<u> </u>	3		_
Rams, And., Ab. St Rochfort, Robert		1	3	2 I - -	
Ross, Col.		_	:	1	
				. •	

Names			For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
Rowley, Clot			I	_		
Rowley, Her	-		_	ı		
Ruxton	Ĭ.		_	ī	_	
Radcliffe	•	.	I			
St. George	•	.		ı		_
Sandford, Hy	·					I
Sandford, Hy Sandford, Robt	•	•	I		'	
Scott, John	•	٠,	Ī		·	_
Steele, Sir Rd.	•	٠,		I		
Sentleger	•		1			
Shiel	•	• !	I			
Sibthorpe	•	•	I			
2 Skeffingtons	•	•	•	2		
3 Skeffingtons	•	•	_	3	ī	
Smyth, Prendergast	•	•	_	$\frac{3}{1}$	<u> </u>	
	•	•		I		
Stoples	•	•	<u> </u>	•	' -	
Stewart, Annesley	•	•		ī	- 1	
Stewart, Annesiey	•	•	<u> </u>	•		
Stewart, Wm., L's Stewart, Robert, H's	•	•	1			_
Stewart, Robert, II s	•	•	• -	I	_	
Stewart, James, K's., Capt. Stratford.	•	•		1		_
^	•	•			I	
Swan	•	•	I	_	. —	
	•	•	I		_	
Tighes, Ed. & Robt	•	•	2	_		
Tighe, Wm Tisdall	•	•		I	- i	-
	•	•	I	· —		<u> </u>
4 Tottenhams	•	•	3	. —	-	
Townsend	•	•	I	<u> </u>		
Trench	•	•		I	i — i	
Tunadine	•	•	I	_	_	
Tyrell	•	•	I		· -	
Vandeleur	•	•		1		
Vesey	•	•	I	-		_
Underwood	•	•	1		_	-
Waller	•	•	I	_	-	-
Walsh	•	•	I	_	-	_
Ward	•	•	_		I	
Westby	•	•		I	-	
Westenraw	•		I		-	_
Wilson	•	•		I	_	_
Wood	•		I	-	_	-
2 Wynnes	•	•	2	_	_	
Yelverston				I	- .	-
Roche, Major Bernard, Francis			1	_	! -	
						1

Abstract of the above List.

For Governm	ent				155	Vacant :
Against		•			95	Kerry—Hassett[Blennerhassett] I
Doubtful			•		31	Castlebar—Knox I
Absent .	•	•	•	•	13	Baltinglass—Lill 1
Seats vacant	•	•	•			Newtown { T. Le Hunte Sir Wm. E. Morres } 2
					300	Westmeath - Belfield 1

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Consisting of All those Peers who come to Ireland—There are many of them who seldom or [n]ever attend.

Lord Primate

A Bishoprick for his Friend Dean Cope by Lord Townshend—Lord Harcourt has given to his Grace's Recommendation Distributor Stamps, Co. Armagh.

Lord Chancellor, Baron Lifford

A Living of £500. to Mr. Bowden his Chaplain—a Cornetcy to his Son-£1000. a year addition to his Sallary as Chancellor-An Ensigncy for his Friend Mr. Lyttelton in the 42nd Regiment by Lord Townshend-During Lord Townshend's Administration His publick Conduct in the House of Lords was very exceptionable and often complained of-In the last Session it was generally adverse to Government-at all Times affecting Popularity by a very mark'd attention to the Lords in Opposition, & the contrary to such as supported Government—He introduced of new the Judges Bill, and attempted to force it thro' the House, even after Lord Harcourt's desire to drop it had been signified to him—He canvass'd the House, and requested the support of every Lord of an Address to the King to grant him an Extra Allowance of £2000, altho' He had received his additional Sallary expressly to obviate that Practice-Without any Communication with the Castle, the House imagining that he acted in concert with it, He threw out in the Lords the Casual Revenue Bill, a Bill which had originated in the Commons & been returned from England, by which the Crown loses perhaps not less than £20,000. a year—He has in a variety of Instances Opposed in Council, and when He assisted, his Support has been so lukewarm & ineffectual as to bring neither Strength nor Advantage with it to the Crown. Prior to the Meeting of last Session Lord Harcourt gave Mr. Hewitt the Reversion of the Examinator of Hearth Money worth £300. a year, and recommended his Lordship's Son for a Company at the Regulated Price—and since the last Session His Excellency gave to his Recommendation the Living of Sentry [Santry] worth £300. a year, and a Supernumerary Guager to his Relation.

Craddock, Archbishop of Dublin

Translated from the See of Kilmore to Dublin worth £5,000. and a Company to his Son in Law Mr. Hamilton by Lord Townshend, and Lord Harcourt has given him a Troop of Dragoons—a very good Speaker in the House of Lords when he wanted Preferment—Is seldom choak'd with Gratitude to his Friend—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation a Hearth Money Collection.

Archbishop of Cashel

Never attends Parliament.

Archbishop of Tuam

Translated from Elphin by Lord Harcourt—attends constantly.

Duke of Leinster

The late Duke received in his own person a Marquis—Duke in Ireland—an English Viscount—Master General of the Ordnance—Lord Justice & Privy Council—Notwithstanding which His Grace with Twelve Members which He returns to Parliament were constantly in Opposition—The present Duke does, & seems determined to, walk in the steps of his Father.

EARLS

Antrim

Governor of the County—Trustee of the Linen Board— Privy Counsellor—has not attended Parliament these four years and asks to be a Marquis—His Son Lord Dunluce has opposed constantly these two last Sessions.

Westmeath

Governor of the County of Westmeath—very attach'd to Lord Harcourt—His Excellency made his Servant One of the State Messengers £40. a year.

Meath

Opposed Lord Townshend's Administration, for which his Father lost his Pension and was struck out of the Privy Council—The present Lord has opposed Lord Harcourt because His Excellency did not appoint him sole Governor of the Counties of Dublin & Wicklow—His Brother Mr. Brabzon attach'd to & follows Mr. Ponsonby.

Donegall

Privy Counsellor—Lord Townshend created a Constable of Carrickfergus to serve his Lordship in Elections—gave his Friend Mr. Price the Surveyorship of Carrickfergus, and made his Lordship a Trustee of the Linen Board—Lives chiefly in England, but in the Face of these Favours conferr'd on him by Lord Townshend, his Friends constantly Opposed his Lordship, and Mr. Skeffington has done the same, who is returned by his Lordship, to Lord Harcourt.

Cavan

Colonel of the 55th Regiment—my Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation a Coast Officer's Employment to James Anderson £35.

Inchiquin

Privy Council & Trustee of the Linen Board—seldom attends.

Drogheda

Privy Council—Trustee of the Linen Board—a Regiment of Dragoons—Governor of the County of Meath and the King's County—Master General of the Ordnance—Major General on the Staff—Constable of Maryborough, and asks to be a Marquis—his Lordship has Two Seats in Parliament—One He sells to Sir William Montgomery, the

other he gives to Mr. Moore, who asks & receives Favours separately for himself—He has some connection with three or four Members, but I do not recollect a single Instance in which that Connection has biass'd any of them to the Castle—He also returns two Members for Maryborough both which he sells, and yet he takes credit with Government for a Following of four or five Members when in fact he has not the Command of One.

Granard

Privy Council & Governor of the County of Longford by Lord Townshend—Lord Harcourt has made his Friend Mr. Coates Surveyor of Ringsend worth £250. a year—He has four seats in Parliament, but there is reason to believe that they are all Sold for the next Parliament.

Tyrone

Privy Counsellor—Trustee of the Linen Board, Governor of the County of Waterford—his Brother Wm. a Living of £600. a year—a number of Employments in the Revenue, and ask'd to be a Marquis—Lord Harcourt gave to his Friend the first Living vacant in his Gift £200.—He has renewed his application for a Marquis and ask'd a Bishoprick for his Brother—His Excellency has given to his Recommendation the Distributor of Stamps, Waterford—2 Hearth Money Collections.

Carrick

His Lordship's Father who died lately, was of the Privy Council and Linen Board, and Lord Townshend obtained for him a Pension of £1000. a year—a Company for his second Son, and gave a Living of £200. to his Friend—Since the Father's death the Captain has resigned his Company—He has two Seats in Parliament—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—a Hearth Money Collection—Distributor of Stamps.

Hillsborough

Privy Council—Trustee of the Linen Board—an Earl—and Governor of the County of Downe—Lord Townshend

obtained for his Friend Dr. Dickson the Deanery of Downe worth £1500. a year—made another Friend of his a Commissioner of Excise £1000. and gave a Living of £300. at his Lordship's Request to a Friend of Mr. C. Dunbar's—His Lordship came to Town at the opening of two Sessions and supported Lord Townshend very ably—He is never without some object or other; He has hitherto only ask'd Lord Harcourt for the Collection of Donaghadee, but he certainly has some Job in reserve which he will push at the proper moment by surprise.

Shannon

Pension of £3000. for 31 years—Trustee of the Linen Board—Governor of the County of Corke—Lord Harcourt made his Friend Mr. Townsend a Commissioner of the Revenue—Serjeant Dennis, Prime Serjeant worth £1200.—Mr. Lysaght a Patentee Employment of £200.—Mr. Moore Surveyor of Courtmacsherry £150.—Obtain'd for his Lordship the office of Muster Master General worth £1800. a year—He returns

1 Members, and there are more that act steadily with him—Lord Harcourt has also given to his Recommendation—Pension of £600. for Mr. D. Jephson—a Hearth Money Collection—2 Boatmen.

Lanesborough

Formerly a Commissioner of the Revenue and was turned out of it and the Council by Lord Townshend—He has been restored to the Council by Lord Harcourt and a Pension of £1200. obtain'd for him in lieu of his Seat at the Revenue Board—He is a Trustee of the Linen Board and Governor of the County of Cavan—His Lordship has two Boroughs, but I am afraid they are both disposed of for the next Parliament—He is an amiable unfortunate man—strongly attach'd to Lord Harcourt. His Excellency has given to his Recommendation the Distributor of Stamps for Cavan, I Guager—I Tidewaiter—2 Hearth Money Collectors, I Walking Officer.

¹ Number not stated in MS.

Clanbrassill

Privy Counsellor—Trustee of the Linen Board—Chief Remembrancer £3000. a year for Life—made his Friend Surveyor of Dundalk £150.—He brings in Mr. Waller & Mr. Shiel—The one was a Commissioner of the Revenue, and has now a Pension in lieu of it of £600.—The other King's Council & Commissioner of Appeals £300.—He has complain'd very loudly against and quarrell'd with Lord Harcourt because his Excellency would not allow him to name to the Collection of Dundalk, and to the office of Distributor of Stamps for the County of Lowth, both which had been engaged before he applied—He has declared his Intention to return two new Members for Dundalk, and that the condition of their Election is to be never to accept of anything from, that they may be at liberty always to Oppose Government.

Belvidere

The Father of the present Earl lately Dead—He was of the Privy Council, of the Linen Board, and held the office of Muster Master General—His Lordship has four Seats in Parliament—He is Governor of the County of Meath, and a Trustee of the Linen Board—He has ask'd to be a Commissioner of the Revenue—left very embarrass'd in his Circumstances, & from his Distress must consequently be dependent on the Crown, likely to quarrel with his Brother Robert, a respectable amiable man—Lord Harcourt has at his earnest Request appointed Mr. Handcock one of his Aid de Camps, and given to his Recommendation the Distributor of Stamps for the County of Westmeath.

Wandesford

Wanted to be of the Privy Council, and out of Humour with Lord Townshend because he refused to recommend it—He has since Opposed.

Lowth

Turned out of the Privy Council by Lord Townshend—wanted to be Constable of Birmingham Tower and upon

refusal went into strong Opposition, in which he has continued ever since.

Mornington

Wanted a Living for his Tutor and Opposed Lord Townshend because he did not give it—Lord Harcourt has gratified him, and He supported last Session—He has a Borough, for which He returns Mr. T. Fortescue & General Pomroy. His Excellency gave to his first Servant the Inner Porter Stamp Office £40.

Moira

A Trustee of the Linen Board, has no Influence in Parliament.

Arran

He is of the Privy Council—His Father who died lately was of the Privy Council—a Trustee of the Linen Board and Governor of the Counties of Wexford & Mayo—He got a Deanery and a Living of £500. for his Friend Dean Brocas, and his Brother Richard was made a Commissioner of the Revenue, and afterwards went into Opposition for which he was turned out by Lord Townshend—They have opposed Lord Harcourt but with moderation—much connected with Lord Annaly, and as that Sett of Goresare now disposed to good Humour with the Castle, 'tis probable this will, & that they will all Support next Session.

Courtown

Wants Preferment in the Church for his Brother—seldom attends—has no Earthly Influence in Parliament—and indecently enough, thro' some Connections he has in England, got himself named of the Council here without making any Application to Lord Harcourt.

Meltown

Privy Counsellor by Lord Townshend—Lord Harcourt made him Governor of the County of Wicklow on the Death of Lord Meath—He wants a Living of £200. for a Mr. Roberts—a constant Attender.

Farnham

Privy Counsellor—Trustee of the Linen Board—Viscount & Earl—Leave to Sell his Place of Birmingham Tower for which he got £7000.—One Brother a Bishop worth near £3000., another holds the Place of Prothonotory to the Common Pleas worth £1000.—both Brothers in violent Opposition, and I believe the noble Lord himself has never taken his Seat.

Charlemont

Governor of the County of Armagh—has a Borough—has been always in Opposition both to Lord Townshend & Lord Harcourt, and always will to Government—In private Life amiable & respectable—In Publick violent, petulant, & waspish.

Bective

His Lordship and his Friends have hitherto Opposed, but as he is now asking Favours of the Crown, it is imagined that he means in the next Session to Support.

Howth

Privy Council and recommended by Lord Townshend for a Pension of £500., but not obtain'd, a constant Attender.

Bellamont

A Trustee of the Linen Board. He supported very steadily during the last Session and was of considerable Service to the Crown in giving notice of & counteracting the Hostile Schemes of the Chancellor—His primary object is Rank in the Army—his next a Commissioner of the Revenue or any other considerable Employment. Lord Harcourt has obtain'd for him a Seat in the Council.

Kingston

Rank of Earl obtain'd for him by Lord Townshend—Privy Council for his Brother Henry, and a Living of £200. to his Recommendation—Governor of the County of Sligo—He became latterly indisposed to Lord Townshend because his Lordship would not carry into effect the King's Letter naming his Friend Colonel Fitzgerald of the Council.

Roden

Privy Council—Trustee of the Linen Board—Auditor General for Life worth £1200.—Searcher of Galway £700.—Lord Townshend obtain'd for him the Rank of Earl, and on his giving up the Tenure for Life, to be held during pleasure, joined his Son's name in his Patent of Auditor General—a constant attender and a tolerable Speaker—He affects to be out of Humour with Lord Harcourt, altho' he offer'd him an Ensigncy, because he did not give a Cornetcy to his Son, and takes upon himself some share of Lord Clanbrassill's quarrel and Resentment, However, by that Master Piece of Lord Townshend's in changing the Tenure of his Employment, & having but a small Fortune, he is totally in the Power of the Castle.

Ely

Earl-Privy Council-several Places in the Revenue-Living of £200. to Mr. Homan-Mr. Tottenham Commissioner of the Customs £1000.-Mr. Loftus a Commissioner of Accounts £500.—The Monroes £300.—Mr. McLean Secretary to the Board of Accounts £300.-Mr. Hellen Council to the Excise £1000.—a Cornetcy for Mr. Loftus—Mr. Tottenham Collector of Drogheda £400.—an Ensigncy for Miss Monroe's Brother. All these Favors obtain'd thro' Lord Townshend. He has Seven Seats in Parliament, and has been very faithfull & constant in his Support ever since he made his Bargain with Lord Townshend-To Lord Harcourt he is under very particular Obligations-His Excellency has given to his Recommendation Three Tide Waiters - Surveyor Wexford £65.—Coast Surveyor £35.—Supervisor of Hearth Money £65.—Coast Officer £35.—Distributor of Stamps, Wexford £50.

Altamont

A Baron in 1761—Governor of the County of Mayo—obtain'd the Rank of Viscount & Earl thro' Lord Townshend, also a Cornetcy for his Grandson—his Third Son, the Collector of Foxford, made a Surveyor General, & his fourth Son Collector in his Room—For his Son the Colonel Lord

Harcourt has obtained the office of Constable of Carrickfergus with a Sallary of £1 per day.

Ross

A Baronet in 1763, and Governor of the County of Donegal—obtain'd the rank of Viscount & Earl thro' Lord Townshend.

VISCOUNTS.

Mountgarret

Seldom attends—when he did, voted against Government.

Valentia

Seldom attends—when he did was with Government.

Strangford

A Pension for his Daughters—of £250.—an Ensigncy for his Son by Lord Townshend, and Leave for him & Dr. Bernard to exchange their Preferents in the Church, by which means they put a large Sum of Money in their Pockets, and defrauded those to whom they had let their Tythes during Incumbency—He wants a Bishoprick for himself and a Company for his Son—Lord Harcourt gave him a Lieutenancy.

Ranelagh

A constant attender, for Government.

Molesworth

A Pension for his Sisters—connected by Marriage with Mr. Ponsonby's Family.

Boyne

Powerscourt

Wanted to be an Earl-hitherto in constant Opposition.

Mountmorris

In violent Opposition—related to Mr. Ponsonby.

Mountcashel

Nephew to Mr. Ponsonby.

Glerawley

Connected with Lord Tyrone.

Clanwilliam

A Peerage in 1766—made his Brother in Law Bourke first a Dean—then a Bishop in Lord Townshend's Administration—when He attends, he Supports—very giddy.

Crosbie

Privy Council—Trustee of the Linen Board—obtain'd Viscount's Rank thro' Lord Townshend—a Deanery for his Brother—his Cousin Mr. Coppinger Rank of Serjeant at Law, and several small Favours in the Revenue—a constant attender—has a very considerable Interest in Kerry—He now wants the Rank of Earl, & that his Relation Lieutenant Colonel Crosbie be either put on full pay or have a 10/a day Government—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation—2 Coast Officers—a Hearth Money Collection, and Distributor of Stamps, Co. Kerry.

BISHOPS.

Meath

Brother to Lord Farnham—seldom attends—when he does, against.

Kildare

Attends & constantly with Government.

Corke

Was Chaplain to Lord Townshend, attends constantly— Lord Harcourt made his Nephew Distributor of Stamps for Corke.

Waterford

Attends constantly.

Clogher

Lord Townshend at his Request offer'd him the Archbishoprick of Dublin, but upon a previous assurance that he would not accept it—for some years he has had very bad Health & attended seldom.

Limerick

Translated by Lord Townshend from Elphin—Brother in Law to Mr. Clements—attends constantly in expectation of a better See.

Kilmore

First Chaplain to Lord Harcourt.

Elphin

Translated by Lord Harcourt from Ossory—This See worth £4000.

Killala

Very old-never attends.

Raphoe

Supports when he attends.

Clonfert

Formerly Dean Cope—Brother in Law to Sir Archibald Acheson, and the particular Favorite & Friend of the Primate — Recommended by Lord Townshend upon his Grace's Request.

Ferns

Obtain'd by Lord Townshend—Son to Commissioner Bourke & Brother in Law to Lord Clanwilliam—a Sensible man and attends constantly—The Borough of Old Leighlin belongs to this Borough [sic].

Ossory

Translated from Dromore to this See by Lord Harcourt— The Borough of St. Kenice or Irish Town belongs to this See.

Downe

Never attends—wishes very much for Emancipation—supposed in his present See to be under some very unusual Embarrassment before or since Lord Hertford's Administration.

Dromore

The late Dean Hawkins, made by Lord Harcourt at the Request of Lord North.

Derry

Translated by Lord Townshend from Cloyne, and gave an Ensigncy to his Friend Lawless—Lord Harcourt obtained a Captain Lieutenancy for another Friend Mr. Allen—and gave his Agent Mr. Swan the Employment of Port Surveyor of Derry worth £400.

Cloyne

Made by Lord Townshend—a constant Attender & a good Speaker—His Excellency has given him for his Services last Session an Expectation of the See of Cashell.

Killaloe

Made by Lord Townshend upon giving up his Prebend of Westminster to Dr. Young, his Lordship's Chaplain.

BARONS.

Kingsale

A Pension by Lord Townshend of £400, and an Ensigncy to his Eldest Son—Lord Harcourt has given an Ensigncy to another Son.

Blayney

A Regiment—Major General on the Staff—Governor of the County of Monaghan—by Lord Townshend a Trustee of the Linen Board—an Ensigncy and a Quarter Master's Commission for his Friends.

Southwell

Constable of Limerick—Trustee of the Linen Board—Governor of the County of Limerick, and Leave for his Son to purchase a Troop of Dragoons—His present objects are to be of the Privy Council, and to obtain a Pension of £200 for his two Aunts

Desart

wants a Pension for his Sister Mrs. Herbert—connected with Lord Tyrone.

Knapton

Opposed Lord Townshend, and generally against during the last Session—He has ask'd a Hearth Money Collection.

Longford

A Captain in the Navy—constantly in Opposition to Lord Townshend—a tolerable Speaker & a very respectable good humour'd man—He and his Brother supported steadily during the last Session—Lord Harcourt gave to his Recommendation Distributor of Stamps for Longford.

Lisle

A Peer in 1758—Follows Lord Shannon, wants an Ensigncy for his Nephew.

Mountflorence

Has two Seats which he Sells-always Supported-wants a Barrack.

Baltinglass

A Peer in 1763—a Trustee of the Linen Board—allowed his Son to purchase a Company from a Cornetcy—wants to be an Earl, and Preferment in the Church for his Son—always Opposed Lord Townshend—He did not attend last Session—His Son voted against constantly in the Commons.

Erne

Appointed Storekeeper of the Ordnance which He resigned last Winter—Lord Townshend gave it to him and obtained the Peerage for his Father—His Brother is in Parliament & opposed—his Lordship supported—Lord Harcourt has made him a Trustee of the Linen Board.

Annaly

Chief Justice of the King's Bench and a Peer in 1766— His Brother Examinator of the Customs—made his Friend a Judge—Barrackmaster of £200 to Mr. Wilson—Deanery for Dr. French, and several Livings to his Friends, with an additional Sallary of £500 to his office as Chief Justice—During last Session he did not indiscriminately Oppose, but could by no means be consider'd as a Friend upon any occasion—his Brother did not attend one day—His Lordship now seems very repentent, and possibly observing no great Cordiality between His Excellency & the Chancellor, he means to make his advantage of the moment in case the Seals should become vacant by Death or removal of the Chancellor—Lord Harcourt has given to his Recommendation [ends].

Eyre

made a Peer by Lord Townshend in 1768-Supports

Irnham

made a Peer in 1768 at the Request of the Duke of Grafton—Opposes.

Dartry

made a Peer in 1770 by Lord T .- Supports.

Bangor

made a Peer in 1770 by Lord T.—Supports. Lord Harcourt has allowed him to name to him a Tidewaiter.

Clermont

Postmaster General—Privy Council and Trustee of the Linen Board—a Peer in 1768 by Lord Townshend and several Favors in the Revenue—He resides almost constantly in England—He now wants the Rank of Earl. Lord Harcourt gave him the Distributor of Stamps for Monaghan.

Dawson

Trustee of the Linen Board—made a Peer in 1770 by Lord Townshend—has a Borough and two Sons in Parliament—Lord Harcourt gave him the Distributor of Stamps Queen's County.

STATE OF THE IRISH HOUSE OF LORDS.

Names		_	For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
Lord Primate .			I	_	_	
Lord Chancellor			Ī			
Archbishop Dublin	•		i		<u> </u>	
Archbishop Cashell	•		_			I
Archbishop Cashell Archbishop Tuam	•	•	I			
Duke of Leinster	•	•		1		
Duke of Lemster	•	•		1	_	
Earls			,			
Antrim						1
Westmeath ·			I	l —		
Meath			_	I		_
Donegal	Ĭ.					
Cavan	•	•	I			I
Inchiquin	•	•	I	=		_
Droghedo	•	•	I	-		_
Drogheda .	•	•	I	_	i —	
Granard	•	•				
Tyrone	•	•	I	-	- - - - - - I	
Carrick	•	•	I	_		
Hillsborough .	•	•		<u> </u>		I
Shannon	•		I	_	-	_
Lanesborough .			I	<u> </u>		_
Clanbrassill .			• - •	I	! —	
Belvidere			1			
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Mountgarret .			_	_		I
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Molesworth .		. 1	_	_		ı

	Nan	nes			For	Against	Doubtful	Absent
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Powerscou	rt				_	1	-	_
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Glerawley					1	1 2		
Glerawley Clanwillia	·				i			
Clare							1	1
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Crosole	•		•			13-2		_
	Bish	ops						
Meath					-	1	_	-
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Killala					-	-		1
Raphoe					1	-		-
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For Gove	rnme	ent			58
Against				•	- 9
Doubtful			•		5
Absent					14
To	tal		•		86

NOTE ON THE SALARIES ATTACHED TO CERTAIN REVENUE OFFICES.

From Commons' Journals, xvi. 62 sqq. & xvii. 92.

CUSTOMS.

	Ο.					
Seven Commission	ers .				٠,	£1,000 each
The Examinator.		•				400
Surveyors General						300
Collectors—						
Collector, Du	blin Port	: .				200
Cor	rk.		•	•		150
Bel	fast .		•	•		120
Wa	terford		•	•		90
Sma	all ports	•				50
Surveyors	•	•	•			60–50
Landwaiters, gener	ally .		•	•		40-35
Coast Officers "	•	•				35
Tidewaiters "	•	•				30
Supernumerary Tic	dewaiters	, gen	erally			20
Boatmen	•			•		20
Coxswain	•		•			23

Excise.

Five Chief Commissioners	•	• £	Ji,000 each
Four Surveyors General		•	500 ,,

These offices were extinguished when the Boards of Customs and Excise, divided under Lord Townshend, were reunited in one Revenue Board under Lord Harcourt.

Collectors	in la	rge di	istrict	s.	•			£100
Collectors	in sn	nall d	istrict	s.	•	•		50
Gaugers		•	•	•		•	•	40
Supernumerary Gaugers								30

STAMP DUTIES.

Thirty County Distributors were allowed 6 per cent. on the stamps sold, and none to receive less than £50 per annum.

APPENDIX

SYMPATHY with the American colonies was daily gaining strength among the Irish Protestants, and Lord Harcourt considered that it would be advisable to make no delay in challenging the sentiments of Parliament as to the revolt. As we have seen in the Introduction to this volume, it was a critical question: it involved the approval of the policy of the Crown, a matter to which the British Ministers attached much weight, and the temper in which the Commons would receive the King's request that they would assent to the withdrawal of 4,000 troops from the number of those appointed to remain in the kingdom. In order to bring this question to a speedy issue, Harcourt in his address at the opening of the Session on October 10, 1775, referred to 'the rebellion existing in a part of the King's American Dominions,' and said that His Majesty relied on the zeal and loyalty of his Irish subjects. The address in reply declared that the Commons viewed the rebellion with abhorrence and indignation. An amendment expressing a desire for conciliation was negatived by 90 to 49, and another being moved for the omission of the words expressing anger at the revolt, the House decided by 90 to 50 to retain them, and the address was carried.1 Harcourt was delighted with this success, and the next day wrote the following letter to Lord North:-

Lord Harcourt to Lord North.2

Oct. 11, 1775.

You must not be surprised to be troubled with this letter by a Messenger when it is to inform you that last night at 11 o'clock the House of Commons agreed to a Resolution, on a division of something more than two to one, declaring their allegiance to His Majesty and abhorrence of the American Rebellion. Nor must you be surprised that the declaration itself brings you the first account of my having engaged in this serious matter. But the truth is, that the Determination upon it was only lately had. I saw the moment approaching when this unpleasant question would have been pressed upon me by the Opposition to the King's Government in this country, who were daily gaining strength upon this ground, with such advantage that I should

Commons' Journals, xvii. 10-12.

² S. P. Ireland, 444, f. 235.

have had great difficulties in resisting it. Therefore it became absolutely necessary for me, and for the honor as well as the support of the King's Government, that I should take a decisive part. It became necessary, as well in point of humanity as expediency, that we should declare to the lower order of the People through their representatives in Parliament the just sense that was entertained of this unnatural rebellion, for I am confident, and of nothing more, that Silence would not only have been criminal in me, but would have involved in it consequences the most distressing, if not fatal to the peace of this Government, and must have added a fresh weight of distress to your Lordship's Administration in England, that great as the object was, I would not hesitate upon it. The Presbyterians in the North, who in their hearts are Americans, were gaining strength every day, and letters wrote by designing men whom I could name from your side of the water, have been repeatedly pressed of late to engage Ireland to take an adverse part in the contest, attaching these foolish people by their pride, and telling them the Ballance of the cause and the decision of the quarrel was on their side of St George's Channel. I have, therefore, for the last few days been incessantly employed, and in order to give it effect, I have been obliged to conduct myself with all possible secrecy, not daring to trust too much to certain interested Persons whom it is not necessary for me at this time to name to your Lordship.

The debate was conducted with great vehemence on the part of Opposition, which was composed of Mr. Ponsonby and the Duke of Leinster's followers and a few county members. Our majority consisted of the most respectable people, and the debate mostly if not entirely conducted and upheld by Sir John Blaquiere and Mr Scott, whose zeal and abilities are so well known to

your Lordship that I shall not add another word.

What I have done I trust may be agreeable to His Majesty, and I should hope of no small service to your Lordship's Administration. For my own part I shall confess to you that I feel such a glow of mind upon this occasion and the victory which has been obtained, that I have in my life never felt moments so happy as they have been since this question was determined. Our numbers were 99 2 to 49: in the House of Lords 31 to 5. For particulars I refer your Lordship to the Minutes.

The next day Blaquiere also wrote to North:-

Sir John Blaquiere to Lord North 3

Oct. 12, 1775.

. . . The boast and false confidence of Lord Chatham in your House, with a late alliance of Lord Cambden's in this

¹ Solicitor General, appointed 1774.

³ S. P. Ireland, 444, f. 237.

² Incorrect: see above from the Commons' Journals.

country, added to the natural fanaticism of the Northern Province, and the necessity of listing in the South many who are not Presbyterians, with other circumstances of material consideration, and which were, I believe, repeated to you yesterday by my Lord Harcourt, made it absolutely necessary for His Excellency to call forth an explicit and timely declaration from the Irish Parliament on the subject of America.

Harcourt and Blaquiere had good reason for satisfaction; the address proved the signal success of their efforts to secure such a majority in Parliament as would enable them to gain its support for the Crown even on the most critical occasions. The decision of Parliament declared the triumph of the system of direct control by the Crown, which had been established in place of government by undertakers. Ireland, in spite of the sentiments of a large number of its people, of by far the larger number of its Protestant inhabitants, was committed to an approval of the war by the votes of those who were by a fiction denominated the representatives of the nation.

The question of the withdrawal of the troops was laid before the Commons on November 23, when Blaquiere brought a message to the House which was read by the Speaker. It announced that the King desired to withdraw 4,000 men from the troops appointed to remain in the kingdom; that the expense of such part of the army as should be spared would not be charged on the Irish establishment, and that the King offered to replace such force by an equal number of foreign Protestant soldiers, the charge of them to be defrayed without any expense to Ireland. On the 25th the message was considered in a committee of the whole House, after the names of the members had been called over in accordance with a previous order debate, which lasted until midnight, was warm, specially on the offer of foreign troops, and the Opposition did not forget to taunt the Government with the fact that the stipulated number of 12,000 men had already been infringed upon. The speakers on the Opposition side were, Harcourt reported to North, Ponsonby, Fitzgibbon, Sir E. Newenham, Gardiner, Ogle, Sir James Cotter, Yelverton (very violent), Chapman, Conolly and Hussey Burgh; and for the Government, Hellen, Sir I. Blaquiere, Carleton, W. Flood, Jephson, Langrishe, Barry Barry, Mason, Trench, Prime Serjeant Dennis, Foster, the Solicitor-General [John Scott], Serjeant Coppinger, and Sir J. Blaquiere a second time in answer to Hussey Burgh, who finally closed the debate.1 The Government majority for sparing the 4,000 men was 121 against 76,

Harcourt to North, Nov. 26, 1775.

but on the 27th the committee decided against accepting the offer of foreign troops by 106 to 68. The next day upon the report, the House agreed with the opinion of the committee on both resolutions after a division of 103 to 58.

The meaning of these divisions is, that Blaquiere had found before the 27th that the offer of foreign troops was extremely distasteful to the Irish Parliament, and rather than press it, Harcourt and he agreed that they would act somewhat in the same way as they had done in the case of the Absentee Tax, and that the Government should 'take a neutral part in the debate.' They rightly judged that the withdrawal of the troops was the more important question, and they determined to make the best of their success in that matter in their letters to England. Blaquiere, in his short letter to North on the night of the 27th, wrote as if all had gone most satisfactorily, and wished him 'joy of the event.' Upon the report the next day, 'when both subjects were debated,' Blaquiere and Harcourt being convinced that if a proposal were made by Government for the introduction of the foreign soldiers, the whole scheme, the withdrawal of the troops as well as the offered replacement of them, would be wrecked, the Government, as Harcourt wrote on the 30th, 'acting under the direction of the sense of the House of Commons, boldly and avowedly took its part in giving 4,000 of our troops and refusing to have them replaced.' The royal offer to keep 4,000 foreign soldiers in Ireland without expense to that country involved a constitutional question as to the right of the Crown to pledge the public money of Great Britain. It was raised in the British House of Commons on February 17, 1776, by Thomas Townshend, afterwards Lord Sydney, who declared that Harcourt had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of that House, but after a warm debate his motion for a committee was negatived by 224 to 106.3

The King was extremely annoyed by the refusal of his offer, and unreasonably, as it appears, attributed his disappointment to bad management on the part of Harcourt and Blaquiere.⁴ The decision

Blaquiere to North, 'from the House,' Nov. 27; Harcourt to North, Nov. 30, 1775, Commons' Journals, xvii. 205—9. Misled apparently by the highly concise account of these proceedings given by Plowden (Historical Review, i. 433), Lecky has for once given a wrong impression of them (History, iv. 438), the division on the report was not a defeat for the Irish Government, though it was for the King.

² Letters of Blaquiere and Harcourt, cited above.

³ Parliamentary History, xviii. 1129.

¹ Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 300-301.

of the Irish House of Commons was wise. No one could foresee that the King's offer would be criticised hostilely in England, and had it been accepted by the Irish it would, but for that, doubtless have been repeated, and a dangerous precedent would have been created. George would, of course, have preferred to have his battles fought by British and Irish troops rather than by Germans. Besides, if Ireland had been willing to receive the soldiers hired from the German princes, the English Ministers would have had an additional defence against their Whig opponents, who made the employment of these troops a ground of attack on the Government. But the Irish Parliament did not choose to have the defence of their country committed to foreigners, nor to see them encamped on Irish soil. The spirit exhibited by the Commons on this question showed that patriotic sentiment was not wholly extinguished by the seductions of the Castle.

Successful as for a time a system of government by corruption may prove to be, it has a fatal defect in that, unless rewards are continually increased, it is impossible to reckon on the continuance of a purchased majority. This was specially true of the influence exercised by Harcourt and Blaquiere over the Irish Parliament. Their position was different from that of the undertakers, for the corruption of the undertakers' days was, as the writer in *Baratariana* remarks, 'domestic'; the ruling oligarchs and their followers understood one another, and the undertakers would thwart the wishes of the Crown when in any serious matter they ran counter to the 'Irish interest,' while under the new system administered by Harcourt and Blaquiere, the favours received from the Crown were given to secure the support of Parliament to a policy which, taken as a whole, was alien, if not adverse, to Irish aspirations.

The sentiment which underlay the decision of the Commons was apparent in the concluding words of the address; they trusted that the people of Ireland might so exert themselves as to make the aid which the King offered unnecessary. This pointed to a renewal of the attempt to obtain a Bill for a national militia, which had hitherto been thwarted by the Privy Council. Harcourt was in favour of it, and heads of a Bill were transmitted to England, but were not returned. Another attempt was made to secure the independence of the judges, and that suffered a like fate. The refusal to accept the foreign troops was, indeed, a sign that the national spirit was gaining an influence over the Government phalanx; some were impatient of the control to which they had submitted themselves, while others were merely anxious to obtain larger terms by a show of independence. An opportunity for opposition was afforded by the

British Privy Council, which returned two money Bills with alterations. They were promptly rejected, though new Bills to the same

purpose were brought in and passed.1

It is not likely that this recrudescence of national sentiment, feigned though in some cases it certainly was, would first be revealed to so watchful a Minister as Blaquiere, who mixed freely in Irish society, by the debates on the Lord-Lieutenant's message. By the beginning of November he considered that fresh favours must be conferred on members of the House of Commons if the business of the session was to be carried through satisfactorily. Ten were, he thought, 'wavering in their faith,' and he had promptly taken the best and usual means of confirming them in it. The result of the impending general election was a more important matter. Expectations raised by Townshend, and not yet fulfilled, must no longer be disappointed; past services must be rewarded, and faithful supporters must be induced by fresh pensions to incur the expense of purchasing seats in the new Parliament. Money must be found by some means, and the King and the British Ministers must be convinced that the matter was urgent, and must state clearly how far they would go. Accordingly on November 2 Blaquiere wrote as follows :-

Sir John Blaquiere to Mr. Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury.2

November 2, 1775.

Since my return hither my Lord-Lieutenant's attention, as far as other measures would allow, has been particularly directed to the consideration of the coming dissolution and its more important consequence, the re-election of a new Parliament, to which if the greatest care and attention be not had, we may peradventure lose thereby thirty or forty of our best Friends, as I very particularly stated both to yourself and Lord North when I was in London. The means to remedy the evil are but few, and after the conversations we have had upon this score, in which there appeared almost an impossibility of affording us any assistance from England, I shall suppose but one: you must by pension or place sink a sum of not less than about £9,000 per annum, exclusive of the provision that may be found requisite for rewarding and indemnifying those who are immediately connected by office with His Excellency's administration or attending on his person. The former is a

2 S.P. Ireland, 444, f. 252.

¹ Plowden, Historical Review, i. 434; Commons' Journals, xvii. 220, 250-251, 295.

matter of necessity, the latter of justice, both equally claiming the attention of the Crown.

There are not less than thirty or forty members that, if not assisted, certainly cannot secure their re-election. Many of these gentlemen hold small employments or pensions from two to three, some under £,200 a year. Their seats in the new Parliament cannot be purchased at less than 2,000 guineas to £2,500. Their past services certainly entitle them to the possession of what they now hold; and an addition by pension or Sallary of from £200 to £250, or more, as circumstances may require, must surely be considered as scarcely an adequate compensation for the advance and loss of so large a sum as 2,000 guineas. There are besides several gentlemen who, holding not a shilling under the Crown, have assisted and are now engaged to support the measures of Government upon expectation given them of a suitable provision at the end of this session, and for which the Faith of Government was pledged during my Lord Townshend's Administration, many of whom he recommended for specific stations or pensions, as your Lists will inform you; and among the number of gentlemen to be added to those I include the Earl of Belvidere, who returns four members, and the Earl of Bellamont, whose services have been marked, zealous, and effectual. To furnish you with a list of names at the present moment could give you neither satisfaction nor information. Let it suffice that for the carrying on the publick Business in the next Parliament, together with having a prospect of perfecting our Business in this, a charge not less than I have stated is indispensable. In truth the transactions of this session are so much involved in the consideration of having a respectable body of Friends in the new Parliament that it is impossible to separate them. I have been already obliged with my Lord-Lieutenant's leave to promise small additional Sallaries or pensions to Messrs. Blakeney, Fitzgerald, Tighe, Sandford, Pennefather, O'Brien, Coghlan, Malone, Cane, and Featherstone, gentlemen most of whom we had reason to think were wavering in their Faith, and who would probably have gone against us or staid away this session. There are others many in the same way; but that we may not hold out unauthorised expectations which may involve many of our best friends as well as ourselves in inextricable difficulties, I am, by Lord Harcourt's desire, to request that you will take the earliest convenient moment to state this matter to my Lord North, that we may know and be fully warranted in our engagements.

This letter was laid before the King, to whom indeed his Ministers referred all matters at this time; for though his kingdoms were nominally ruled by responsible Ministers, they were during North's Administration practically under his personal rule. He saw the letter along with another from Blaquiere referring to the offer of the foreign troops; both displeased him, and on November 26 he wrote to North complaining that Blaquiere's letters were 'drawn up in a strange and loose manner,' that they were vague, and that 'he must specify very exactly on paper the whole of his demands before any encouragement can be given.' Robinson accordingly wrote to Blaquiere for precise information as to the money that he would want for the Irish members. Blaquiere sent the following reply:—

Sir John Blaquiere to Mr. Robinson. Private and Confidential.2

Dec. 15, 1775.

In order to save you any unnecessary trouble upon the subject of the arrangements necessary to make at this critical time in Ireland, I beg the favour of you to consider this Letter as a continuation of mine of the 2d of November to which I refer.

The particulars you desire shall be stated in a manner as minute and critical as the nature of the thing will admit, in order to which I shall place them under three separate heads, tho' the services done to the King's Government in my Lord Townshend's time, those which have been rendered in the two last sessions, and the expectation of securing to the Crown a respectable Majority in the new Parliament are so closely interwoven that it is scarce possible to consider them asunder. . . . Of these remaining unprovided for are the following Persons who have every one of them earned by additional service and zeal in support of Government a better claim to His Majesty's goodness. My Lord Townshend stated their merits, which it would be needless for me to repeat, and recommend them for the following annual provision by way of pension or otherwise; and these I shall consider under my first Head—

£500 The Earl of Howth 300 Mr. Robert Fitzgerald 200 Col. Sandford

200 Mr. Robert Tighe

col. Smith for his sisters £100 each, and although this gentleman's services cannot be stated with parliamentary ones, he comes necessarily included in Lord Townshend's arrangements, by whom he was recommended, and my Lord Harcourt has directed me to call to my Lord North's mind the services of his family, his own in Portugal, and to state the particular zeal and alacrity He has shown on many occasions, where he has been employed in this country at my Lord Harcourt's particular desire.

^{£,1,400}

¹ Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 300.
² S. P. Ireland, 444, f. 292.

Under the Second head I shall include Persons for services already performed in Parliament either by themselves or their Friends, and for which Stipulations have been made or expectations held out of annual provision to the following amount

£,200 Capt. Bristow—this is a gentleman for whom my Lord Conyngham stipulated so long as three years ago when He first joined Government with his Parliamentary Interest, that he should at the first convenient opportunity have-

150 Mr. Edgeworth at the desire of the Earl of Kingston has long had expectation given him of £150.

700 The Earl of Bellamont's zeal for H.M.'s Government, & the very able & effectual support which He has given in the House of Lords these two last sessions, & the peculiar merit he had of joining the Government at a moment when his services were most critically wanted induces my Lord Harcourt to recommend him to H.M. for £,700.

200 Mr. Malone. The honor & effect which the King's Government derives from the disinterested support & great abilities of this gentleman will, it is thought, make it unnecessary to say a word but

that he wants for his nephew £200. 800 Mr. Serjt. Hamilton quitted the Opposition at a critical moment upon the promise of being recommended to the Bench when a proper opportunity offered. The conduct of Judge Robinson affords that opportunity.1 My Lord Harcourt wishes nevertheless that Mr. Robinson's former conduct should be considered. He is besides old & infirm. His Excellency means to recommend him for the usual Judge's pension of £800.

200 My Lord Westmeath's brother has already a small Pension; my Lord Harcourt means to recommend

an additional £200.
150 Col. Luttrell's friend whom my Lord North recommended is as yet unprovided for, no sinecure employment having fallen in.

150 Ld. Chief Justice Patterson, one of the honestest & ablest servants the King has & who has been serviceable to my Lord Harcourt's administration, desires a pension for his near relation. H. E. means to recommend.

£2,550

Under the 3rd & last Head are to be reckoned Persons for services already performed blended with their engaging to return themselves Members in the next Parliament.

£600 Mr. Warden Flood, of whom I believe you have heard enough said: for particulars & in order to avoid writing volumes let me refer you to Mr. Lees.

400 Counsellor Carleton, of whom I suppose it also un-

necessary to say a word.

300 Mr. Westenrau, member for Monaghan.

250 Sir Wm. Montgomery, in order to give him the agency of the half-pay, a measure exceedingly desirable for the care & advantage of half-pay officers, as well as in consideration of his repurchasing himself into Parliament; the pension to be given to Mr. Bulkley, the present agent.

300 Mr. O'Brien,1 brother to Sir Lucius, both he & Sir

Lucius in Parliament.

400 Mr. Coghlan, a faithful friend, is to repurchase.

300 Col. Cane 1 comes in again for Tallagh, & at some expense, a constant attender & an honourable Friend.

200 Mr. Cavendish is to repurchase. His Collection of Dundalk is worth only £150; somehow or other must be added.

300 Mr. Tunnadine purchases for the third time; has no

office yet, a constant attender.

650 It was thought my Lord Belvidere must have had a seat at the Revenue Board. He will be a powerful Man & a warm Friend at the next, as he has been in this Parliament; but its hoped as his brothers have asked for provisions, he may be passed by & they will be satisfied with £650.

300 Mr. Waller,2 one of the dismissd Commissioners, to

repurchase.

200 Mr. Fetherstone, one of the dismissd Surveyors General, to repurchase.

200 Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald,2 the same.

200 Mr. Nisbet repurchases upon an addition to his Father's

pension, which is £300, of £200.

500 Mr. Hutchinson, the eldest son of the Provost. The Father certainly brings him, with another friend into Parlt., for whom he purchases.

250 Mr. Blakeney has a pension of £300. He is offered for his Seat £2600; there are two Brothers in

Parlt., an addition of-

300 Mr. Pennefather has had the same offer. He & his Father are in Parlt. They have no office.

1 For O'Brien, Coghlan and Cane see p. 85: they now appear as confirmed

² In Townshend's excise board the five chief commissioners received £1,000 a year each, the four surveyors general £500. When the revenue boards were reunited the commissioners of excise received pensions of £600, the surveyors general of £300.—Commons' Journals, xvi. 80, 344-45.

400 Col. Ross, a warm & devoted friend, brings himself & assists Government in bringing in another.

200 Mr. Cuffe to be re-elected for the County of Mayo, an additional Sallary. He is of the Barrack Board.

200 Lord Carrick, a warm supporter, has one now, & will have two Members in the next Parlt., asks for a pension for an old gentleman of 76.

50 Mr. Caulfield, member for Tulsk, additional to a small

office he has of-

200 Mr. Swan, a claim upon Govt. for a constant exertion in the House of Commons of some of the most painful & perilous service that can be performed.

200 Mr. Mowtray, a very good friend, a pension for his Br[other].

£7,000

1st Head 2nd Head 3rd Head	:	 £1,400 2,550 7,000
Add Lord	Annaly	10,950 300 £11,250

This, my dear Sir, is a considerable sum, but compared to former charges it is trifling, & compared with the present emergencies of things, the Service rendered & the importance of the Novel but necessary idea of securing to the King's Government a proper Majority in the new Parliament. It will under the several considerations bear the strictest Scrutiny, insomuch that I will take upon me to say, & I do it by my Lord Harcourt's special commands, that if Three Hundred Pounds are struck off, the Government will be very considerably prejudiced. There is to be added to these, several little objects of Charity, specially Officers' Widows, which have been recommended to my Lord Harcourt, & which together may amount to perhaps between two & £300, which I suppose it can be scarce necessary to specify.

These things done you will have most unquestionably in the new Parliament a most respectable Majority. To say presently what will be the numerical account of your Strength, it depends upon so many contingencies, that I believe it next to impossible, but upon a presumption that all things may go according to moral probability, you have a right to expect the number will then stand, taking your present attach'd & steady friends, & all those who will be brought in by their assistance, & the various influences which Government can in every possibility exert, in which I include the assistance which the expected moves & creations in the Peerage will procure; They will,

taken together, give you a predominant power in the proportion of 138 to 91. And here allow me to observe that 138 plumping Votes of unequivocal men is in my opinion as great a power as Government can now command in this Parliament.

P.S.—My Lord has just sent me word that, whilst I was in England, He had given Lord Annaly an expectation of a Pension of £300 a year for his Brother, which He did not recollect before, & must now be added to the general sum.

The anticipated creations in the peerage, it will be observed, were not made in order to overcome a majority in the House of Lords, but to secure a majority in the Commons by gratifying certain powerful persons or faithful supporters. There is, therefore, no real analogy between them and the creation of the twelve peers in Queen Anne's reign.1 Following Plowden, Lecky says that besides twelve promotions in the peerage, eighteen Irish peers were 'created in a single day.' This number, however, can only be made up by including the creation, in April 1776, of William Henry Lyttelton, later Baron Lyttelton in the British peerage, and then member for Bewdley, as Baron Westcote in the peerage of Ireland. But this creation had nothing in common with the rest. The other seventeen whose elevation was announced on July 2 of that year were Sir Thomas Maude, created Baron de Montalt; Sir George Macartney, B. Macartney; Sir Archibald Acheson, B. Gosford; Ralph Howard, B. Clonmore; Sir Richard Philips, B. Milford; Sir Thomas Wynn, B. Newborough; Sir Charles Bingham, B. Lucan; Sir Alexander Macdonald, who had no connection with Ireland, B. Macdonald; Sir William Mayne, B. Newhaven; James Agar, B. Clifden; William Edwardes, B. Kensington; Robert Ongley, B. Ongley; Vice-Admiral Molyneux Shouldham, B. Shouldham; John Bourke, B. Naas; Sentleger Sentleger, or St. Leger, B. Doneraile; Clotworthy Upton, B. Templetown; and Hugh Massey, B. Massey. This wholesale creation stands in strong contrast to the instruction with reference to the peerage given to Harcourt on taking office which is recorded in the Introduction. Members of the House of Commons were not promoted to the peerage until arrangements had been made that their seats should be filled by supporters of Government.

Blaquiere's letter suggests many comments, but it must suffice here to refer the reader to the provision already made for Hely Hutchinson, which is noticed in the Introduction; to observe how much better it was to be the brother of an Irish peer, than the

¹ Plowden (Historical Review, i. 443) and Lecky (History, iv. 441), are somewhat misleading, though Lecky's remark is verbally correct.

widow of an officer, one of those 'little objects,' for whom, taken in a lump, scarce so much was to be asked of H.M.'s goodness as Annaly got for his brother Henry Gore, and to admire the pious care which these lords and gentlemen showed in seeking to provide for their relations and friends out of the public money. They were imitated, or surpassed, by an English earl, whose name we have met with more than once. The proof of his care for an old servant concerns Ireland, and is too pleasing an incident to be omitted. The Earl of Rochford, descended from one of the Dutch friends of William III., who sometime enjoyed an Irish pension of £2,000, resigned the Secretaryship of State in November 1775, and received a pension of £2,500, afterwards increased to £3,320. He had landed property worth £,2,000 a year, which he bequeathed to his mistress. At the date of his resignation his butler had become too old for further work, and on the 10th he wrote to Harcourt asking him 'for a little sinecure place of about £50 or £60 a year for an old servant that has lived with me these thirty years. I have now no way of providing for him but by keeping him myself, which will be a great charge to me.' His anxiety led him to write again the next day, and this time to Blaquiere, to urge his request. 'It is for our old friend Strasburgh, my butler, who has poured you out many a glass of good Burgundy, and who will be a burden to me if I am not relieved from it.' So poor old Strasburgh was to be a burden on Ireland.

The first octennial Parliament was prorogued on April 4, 1776, and was dissolved later. Harcourt resigned office in November of that year, and did not meet the new Parliament, which assembled in 1776 only for the election of a speaker, and did not meet again till October 1777.

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but on the 27th the committee decided against accepting the offer of foreign troops by 106 to 68. The next day upon the report, the House agreed with the opinion of the committee on both resolutions after a division of 103 to 58.1

The meaning of these divisions is, that Blaquiere had found before the 27th that the offer of foreign troops was extremely distasteful to the Irish Parliament, and rather than press it, Harcourt and he agreed that they would act somewhat in the same way as they had done in the case of the Absentee Tax, and that the Government should 'take a neutral part in the debate.' They rightly judged that the withdrawal of the troops was the more important question, and they determined to make the best of their success in that matter in their letters to England. Blaquiere, in his short letter to North on the night of the 27th, wrote as if all had gone most satisfactorily, and wished him 'joy of the event.' Upon the report the next day, 'when both subjects were debated,' Blaquiere and Harcourt being convinced that if a proposal were made by Government for the introduction of the foreign soldiers, the whole scheme, the withdrawal of the troops as well as the offered replacement of them, would be wrecked, the Government, as Harcourt wrote on the 30th, 'acting under the direction of the sense of the House of Commons, boldly and avowedly took its part in giving 4,000 of our troops and refusing to have them replaced.' ? The royal offer to keep 4,000 foreign soldiers in Ireland without expense to that country involved a constitutional question as to the right of the Crown to pledge the public money of Great Britain. It was raised in the British House of Commons on February 17, 1776, by Thomas Townshend, afterwards Lord Sydney, who declared that Harcourt had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of that House, but after a warm debate his motion for a committee was negatived by 224 to 106.3

The King was extremely annoyed by the refusal of his offer, and unreasonably, as it appears, attributed his disappointment to bad management on the part of Harcourt and Blaquiere.⁴ The decision

¹ Blaquiere to North, 'from the House,' Nov. 27; Harcourt to North, Nov. 30, 1775, Commons' Journals, xvii. 205—9. Misled apparently by the highly concise account of these proceedings given by Plowden (Historical Review, i. 433), Lecky has for once given a wrong impression of them (History, iv. 438), the division on the report was not a defeat for the Irish Government, though it was for the King.

² Letters of Blaquiere and Harcourt, cited above.

³ Parliamentary History, xviii. 1129.

⁴ Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 300-301.

of the Irish House of Commons was wise. No one could foresee that the King's offer would be criticised hostilely in England, and had it been accepted by the Irish it would, but for that, doubtless have been repeated, and a dangerous precedent would have been created. George would, of course, have preferred to have his battles fought by British and Irish troops rather than by Germans. Besides, if Ireland had been willing to receive the soldiers hired from the German princes, the English Ministers would have had an additional defence against their Whig opponents, who made the employment of these troops a ground of attack on the Government. But the Irish Parliament did not choose to have the defence of their country committed to foreigners, nor to see them encamped on Irish soil. The spirit exhibited by the Commons on this question showed that patriotic sentiment was not wholly extinguished by the seductions of the Castle.

Successful as for a time a system of government by corruption may prove to be, it has a fatal defect in that, unless rewards are continually increased, it is impossible to reckon on the continuance of a purchased majority. This was specially true of the influence exercised by Harcourt and Blaquiere over the Irish Parliament. Their position was different from that of the undertakers, for the corruption of the undertakers' days was, as the writer in *Baratariana* remarks, 'domestic'; the ruling oligarchs and their followers understood one another, and the undertakers would thwart the wishes of the Crown when in any serious matter they ran counter to the 'Irish interest,' while under the new system administered by Harcourt and Blaquiere, the favours received from the Crown were given to secure the support of Parliament to a policy which, taken as a whole, was alien, if not adverse, to Irish aspirations.

The sentiment which underlay the decision of the Commons was apparent in the concluding words of the address; they trusted that the people of Ireland might so exert themselves as to make the aid which the King offered unnecessary. This pointed to a renewal of the attempt to obtain a Bill for a national militia, which had hitherto been thwarted by the Privy Council. Harcourt was in favour of it, and heads of a Bill were transmitted to England, but were not returned. Another attempt was made to secure the independence of the judges, and that suffered a like fate. The refusal to accept the foreign troops was, indeed, a sign that the national spirit was gaining an influence over the Government phalanx; some were impatient of the control to which they had submitted themselves, while others were merely anxious to obtain larger terms by a show of independence. An opportunity for opposition was afforded by the

British Privy Council, which returned two money Bills with alterations. They were promptly rejected, though new Bills to the same

purpose were brought in and passed.1

It is not likely that this recrudescence of national sentiment, feigned though in some cases it certainly was, would first be revealed to so watchful a Minister as Blaquiere, who mixed freely in Irish society, by the debates on the Lord-Lieutenant's message. By the beginning of November he considered that fresh favours must be conferred on members of the House of Commons if the business of the session was to be carried through satisfactorily. he thought, 'wavering in their faith,' and he had promptly taken the best and usual means of confirming them in it. The result of the impending general election was a more important matter. Expectations raised by Townshend, and not yet fulfilled, must no longer be disappointed; past services must be rewarded, and faithful supporters must be induced by fresh pensions to incur the expense of purchasing seats in the new Parliament. Money must be found by some means, and the King and the British Ministers must be convinced that the matter was urgent, and must state clearly how far they would go. Accordingly on November 2 Blaquiere wrote as follows :-

Sir John Blaquiere to Mr. Robinson, Secretary to the Treasury.2

November 2, 1775.

Since my return hither my Lord-Lieutenant's attention, as far as other measures would allow, has been particularly directed to the consideration of the coming dissolution and its more important consequence, the re-election of a new Parliament, to which if the greatest care and attention be not had, we may peradventure lose thereby thirty or forty of our best Friends, as I very particularly stated both to yourself and Lord North when I was in London. The means to remedy the evil are but few, and after the conversations we have had upon this score, in which there appeared almost an impossibility of affording us any assistance from England, I shall suppose but one: you must by pension or place sink a sum of not less than about £9,000 per annum, exclusive of the provision that may be found requisite for rewarding and indemnifying those who are immediately connected by office with His Excellency's administration or attending on his person. The former is a

² S.P. Ireland, 444, f. 252.

¹ Plowden, Historical Review, i. 434; Commons' Journals, xvii. 220, 250-251, 295.

matter of necessity, the latter of justice, both equally claiming the attention of the Crown.

There are not less than thirty or forty members that, if not assisted, certainly cannot secure their re-election. Many of these gentlemen hold small employments or pensions from two to three, some under £,200 a year. Their seats in the new Parliament cannot be purchased at less than 2,000 guineas to £2,500. Their past services certainly entitle them to the possession of what they now hold; and an addition by pension or Sallary of from £200 to £250, or more, as circumstances may require, must surely be considered as scarcely an adequate compensation for the advance and loss of so large a sum as 2,000 guineas. There are besides several gentlemen who, holding not a shilling under the Crown, have assisted and are now engaged to support the measures of Government upon expectation given them of a suitable provision at the end of this session, and for which the Faith of Government was pledged during my Lord Townshend's Administration, many of whom he recommended for specific stations or pensions, as your Lists will inform you; and among the number of gentlemen to be added to those I include the Earl of Belvidere, who returns four members, and the Earl of Bellamont, whose services have been marked, zealous, and effectual. To furnish you with a list of names at the present moment could give you neither satisfaction nor information. Let it suffice that for the carrying on the publick Business in the next Parliament, together with having a prospect of perfecting our Business in this, a charge not less than I have stated is indispensable. In truth the transactions of this session are so much involved in the consideration of having a respectable body of Friends in the new Parliament that it is impossible to separate them. I have been already obliged with my Lord-Lieutenant's leave to promise small additional Sallaries or pensions to Messrs. Blakeney, Fitzgerald, Tighe, Sandford, Pennefather, O'Brien, Coghlan, Malone, Cane, and Featherstone, gentlemen most of whom we had reason to think were wavering in their Faith, and who would probably have gone against us or staid away this session. There are others many in the same way; but that we may not hold out unauthorised expectations which may involve many of our best friends as well as ourselves in inextricable difficulties, I am, by Lord Harcourt's desire, to request that you will take the earliest convenient moment to state this matter to my Lord North, that we may know and be fully warranted in our engagements.

This letter was laid before the King, to whom indeed his Ministers referred all matters at this time; for though his kingdoms were nominally ruled by responsible Ministers, they were during North's Administration practically under his personal rule. He saw the letter along with another from Blaquiere referring to the offer of the foreign troops; both displeased him, and on November 26 he wrote to North complaining that Blaquiere's letters were 'drawn up in a strange and loose manner,' that they were vague, and that 'he must specify very exactly on paper the whole of his demands before any encouragement can be given.' Robinson accordingly wrote to Blaquiere for precise information as to the money that he would want for the Irish members. Blaquiere sent the following reply:—

Sir John Blaquiere to Mr. Robinson. Private and Confidential.²
Dec. 15, 1775.

In order to save you any unnecessary trouble upon the subject of the arrangements necessary to make at this critical time in Ireland, I beg the favour of you to consider this Letter as a continuation of mine of the 2d of November to which I refer.

The particulars you desire shall be stated in a manner as minute and critical as the nature of the thing will admit, in order to which I shall place them under three separate heads, tho' the services done to the King's Government in my Lord Townshend's time, those which have been rendered in the two last sessions, and the expectation of securing to the Crown a respectable Majority in the new Parliament are so closely interwoven that it is scarce possible to consider them asunder. . . . Of these remaining unprovided for are the following Persons who have every one of them earned by additional service and zeal in support of Government a better claim to His Majesty's goodness. My Lord Townshend stated their merits, which it would be needless for me to repeat, and recommend them for the following annual provision by way of pension or otherwise; and these I shall consider under my first Head—

£500 The Earl of Howth 300 Mr. Robert Fitzgerald 200 Col. Sandford

200 Mr. Robert Tighe

200 Col. Smith for his sisters £100 each, and although this gentleman's services cannot be stated with parliamentary ones, he comes necessarily included in Lord Townshend's arrangements, by whom he was recommended, and my Lord Harcourt has directed me to call to my Lord North's mind the services of his family, his own in Portugal, and to state the particular zeal and alacrity He has shown on many occasions, where he has been employed in this country at my Lord Harcourt's particular desire.

<sup>£1,400

1</sup> Correspondence of George III. with Lord North, i. 300.

2 S. P. Ireland, 444, f. 292.

Under the Second head I shall include Persons for services already performed in Parliament either by themselves or their Friends, and for which Stipulations have been made or expectations held out of annual provision to the following amount

£200 Capt. Bristow—this is a gentleman for whom my Lord Conyngham stipulated so long as three years ago when He first joined Government with his Parliamentary Interest, that he should at the first convenient opportunity have—

150 Mr. Edgeworth at the desire of the Earl of Kingston has long had expectation given him of £150.

700 The Earl of Bellamont's zeal for H.M.'s Government, & the very able & effectual support which He has given in the House of Lords these two last sessions, & the peculiar merit he had of joining the Government at a moment when his services were most critically wanted induces my Lord Harcourt to recommend him to H.M. for £700.

Government derives from the disinterested support & great abilities of this gentleman will, it is thought, make it unnecessary to say a word but that he wants for his penhew.

that he wants for his nephew £200.

800 Mr. Serjt. Hamilton quitted the Opposition at a critical moment upon the promise of being recommended to the Bench when a proper opportunity offered. The conduct of Judge Robinson affords that opportunity. My Lord Harcourt wishes nevertheless that Mr. Robinson's former conduct should be considered. He is besides old & infirm. His Excellency means to recommend him for the usual Judge's pension of £800.

200 My Lord Westmeath's brother has already a small Pension; my Lord Harcourt means to recommend an additional £200.

150 Col. Luttrell's friend whom my Lord North recommended is as yet unprovided for, no sinecure employment having fallen in.

ablest servants the King has & who has been serviceable to my Lord Harcourt's administration, desires a pension for his near relation. H. E. means to recommend.

£2,550

Under the 3rd & last Head are to be reckoned Persons for services already performed blended with their engaging to return themselves Members in the next Parliament.

